

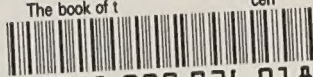
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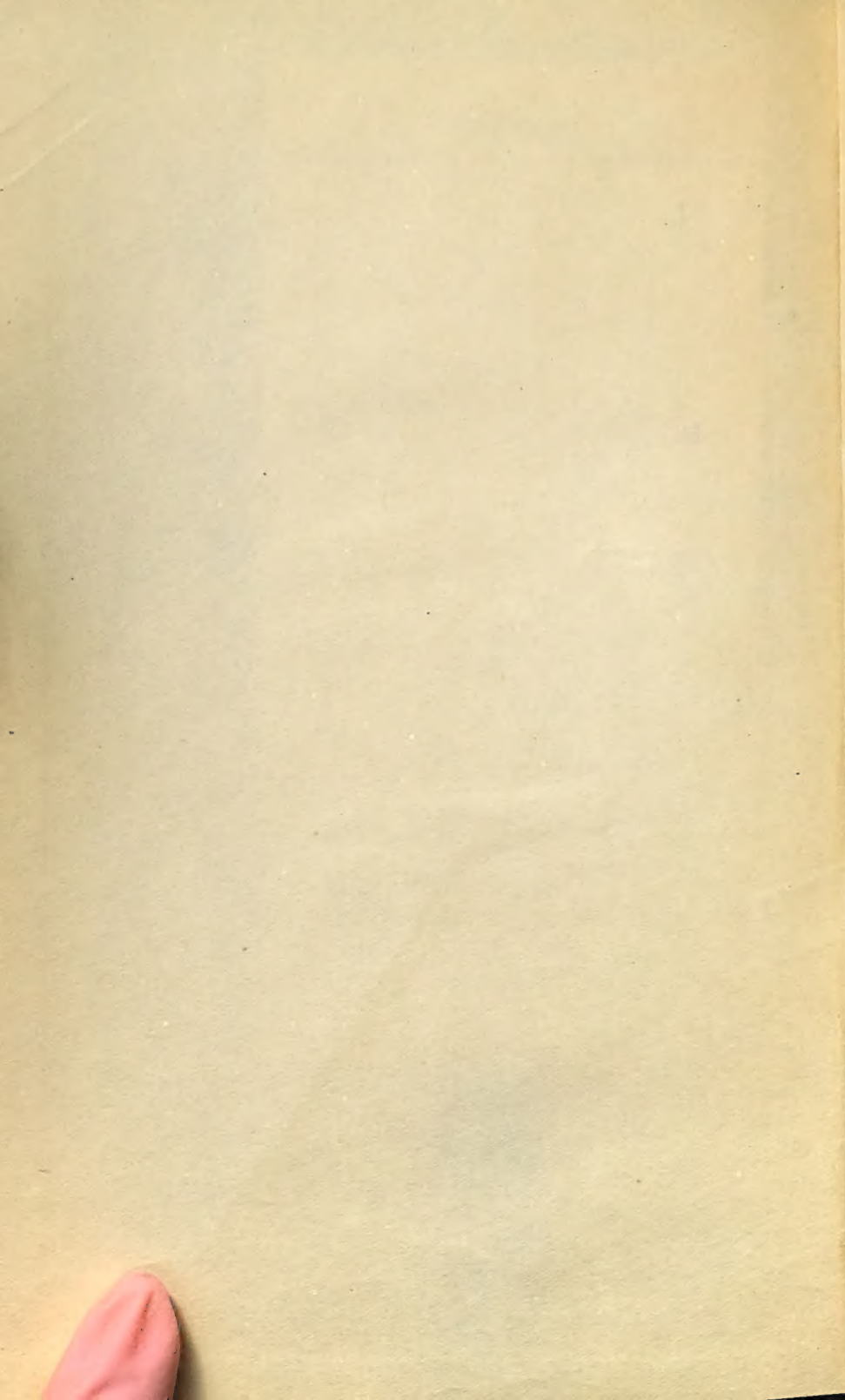
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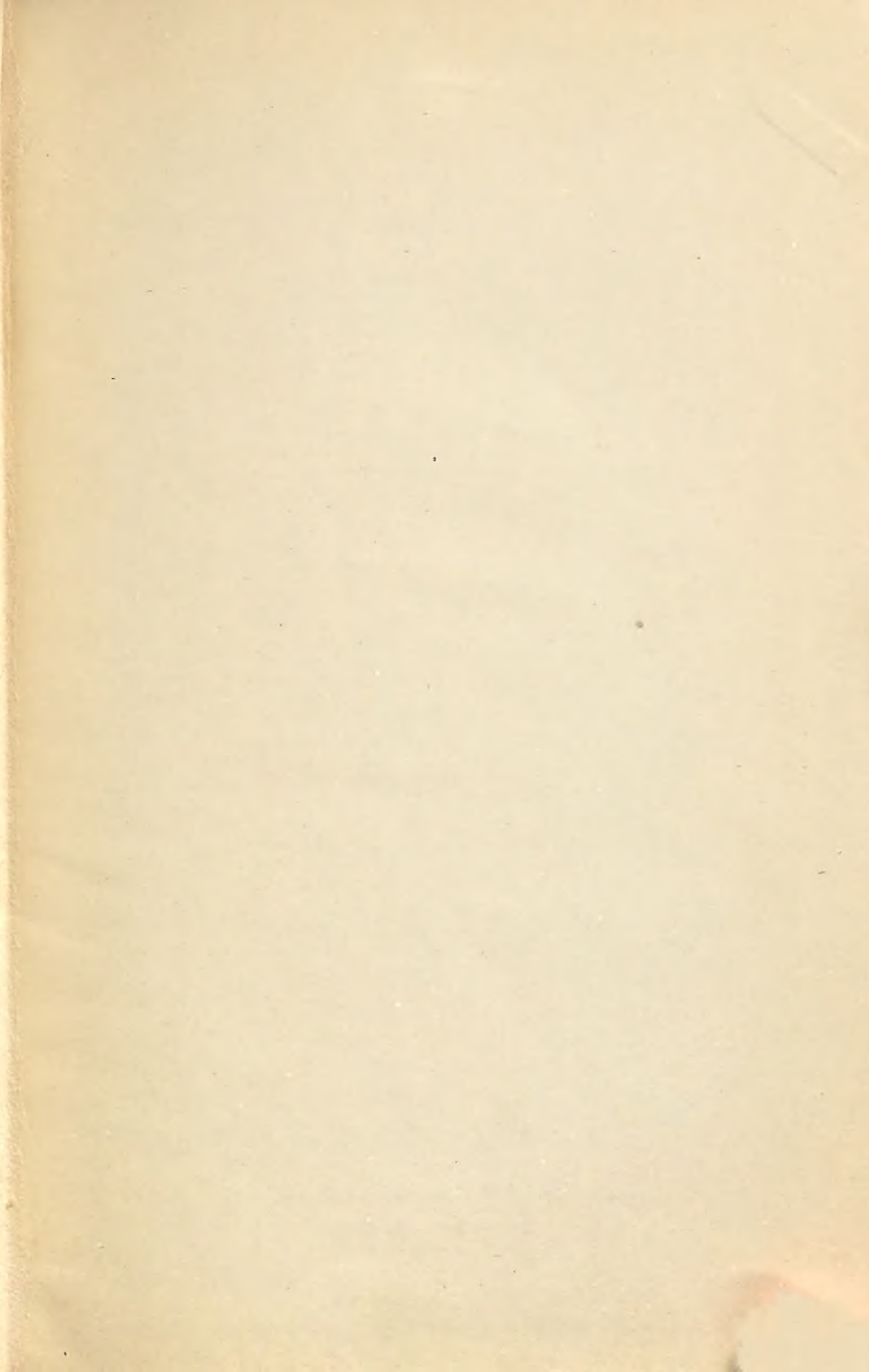
FROM 1630 TO 1800

BY

JOHN H. COLEMAN

1880

BOSTON



The
Book of the Ordre of Chyualry

TRANSLATED AND PRINTED BY

WILLIAM CAXTON

FROM A FRENCH VERSION OF RAMÓN LULL'S
"LE LIBRE DEL ORDE DE CAUAYLERIA"

TOGETHER WITH

ADAM LOUTFUT'S SCOTTISH TRANSCRIPT

(HARLEIAN MS. 6149)

EDITED BY

ALFRED T. P. BYLES

M.A. LONDON ; LECTURER IN ENGLISH AT THE
EXETER DIOCESAN TRAINING COLLEGE

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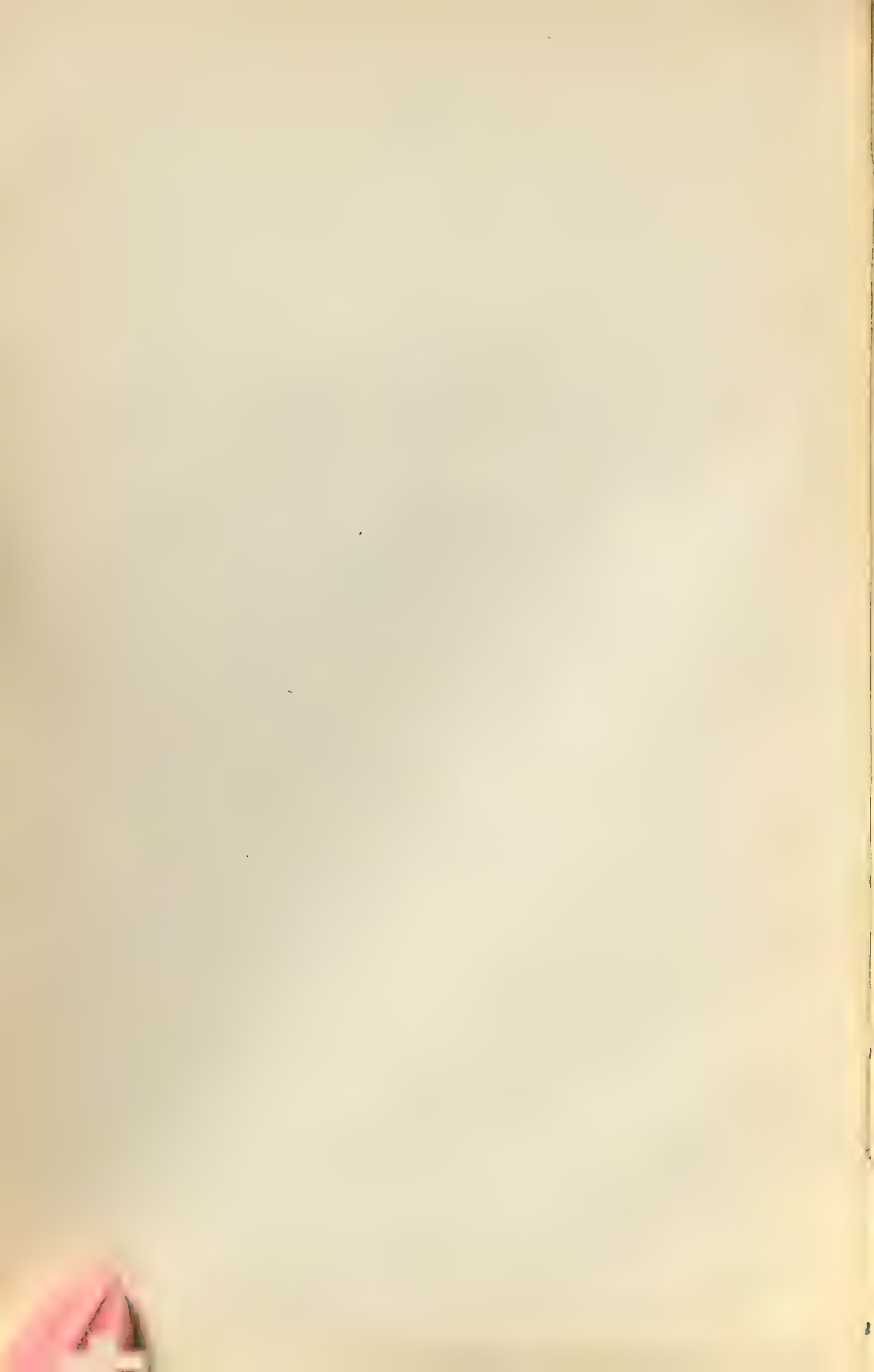
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DEDICATED

TO

Sir Israel Gollancz



PREFACE.

FROM the time of Ste. Palaye's "Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie," 1781, all the chief writers on chivalry have recognised Caxton's "Ordre of Chyualry" as the most compendious mediæval treatise on the obligations of knighthood, and have quoted it freely. However, information about the authorship, bibliography and contents of the book has been very scattered and frequently inaccurate. I have endeavoured in the Introduction to give an adequate and correct account not only of Caxton's translation and Loutfut's transcript, but also of the other versions of a work which enjoyed an international popularity.

My grateful thanks for advice and encouragement are due to Sir Israel Gollancz, at whose suggestion the work was undertaken, and to Dr. Mabel Day. I also wish to acknowledge the courtesy shown to me by the authorities of the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale, and by the librarian of Queen's College, Oxford. Owing to the death of Mr. W. H. Stevenson, Librarian of St. John's College, Oxford, I can only pay a slight but sincere tribute to the memory of the genial scholar to whom I owe my first introduction to Oxford and her hospitality.

November 1925.

ALFRED BYLES.

ABBREVIATIONS.

- A. = Additional MS. 22768 at the British Museum.
 Ang. Fr. = Anglo-French.
 C. = Caxton's *Ordre of Chyualry*.
 E.E.T.S. = Early English Text Society.
 f. = folio.
 Icel. = Icelandic.
 J. = MS. cii. at St. John's College, Oxford.
 Mid. Sc. = Middle Scots.
 N.E.D. = New English Dictionary (J. A. H. Murray), Oxford,
 1888-.
 O.E. = Old English.
 O.Fr. = Old French.
 O.N. = Old Norse.
 R. = Royal MS. 14 E ii at the British Museum.
 Sc. = Scots or Scottish.
 S.T.S. = Scottish Text Society.

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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. AN ACCOUNT OF THE MSS., TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS OF
"LE LIVRE DE L'ORDRE DE CHEVALERIE."

There are extant versions of "The Order of Chivalry" in Catalan, French, Scots and English, while there is sufficient evidence that a Latin version also existed.

CATALAN.—*Le Libre del Orde de Cauayleria.*

Mr. J. H. Stevenson, the editor of "Gilbert of the Haye's Prose MS." (S.T.S., 1901, 1914), is mistaken in his statement that "the authorship of 'Le Livre de Chevalerie' is quite unknown."¹ It is the work of Ramón Lull, the apostle to the Saracens and indefatigable author, who was born at Palma in Majorca about 1235. His extraordinary career—"cette vie étrange, partagée entre l'apostolat, la vagabondage, l'hallucination et une activité prodigieuse"—is described by E. Littré and B. Hauréau in "L'Histoire Littéraire de la France," Vol. XXIX., which also contains a detailed description of his works.² Lull was the son of a wealthy and distinguished Majorcan soldier, and after marrying at an early age he was made seneschal at the court of James II. of Aragon. Here he lived the life of a gay worldling, but was probably no more profligate than the average courtier of his day. The gift of poetry appeared in him in his youth, and the collection of Catalan poems, edited by M. Rosselló, is of more value to-day than the vast mass of his scholastic philosophy. His poetry was devoted to amorous and other secular themes until 1266, when the whole course of his life was changed by a vision of the crucified

¹ Vol. II. p. xlii. This error is shared by all the historians of chivalry, such as Ste. Palaye, Charles Mills, Dr. Schofield ("Chivalry in English Literature," 1912), M. Léon Gautier ("La Chevalerie," 1891), and Mr. W. C. Meller ("A Knight's Life in the Days of Chivalry," 1924).

² Other works on Lull are Dr. Samuel Zwemer's "Raymund Lull, First Missionary to the Moslems" (1902), and Mr. A. E. Waite's "Raymund Lully: Illuminated Doctor, Alchemist and Christian Mystic" (1922).

Christ, seen on five successive nights. He determined to devote himself to some great Christian service, and accordingly he essayed the task of converting the Saracens, chiefly in the north of Africa. The idea of overcoming the Saracens by love and persuasion was quite new at a time when the Crusades were not yet over. Not less remarkable is the fact that it was as a layman that Lull undertook this mighty task. He learnt Arabic from a Saracen slave and commenced the long series of treatises in Arabic, or in vulgar Catalan, which only terminated with his death. Most of his works are extant in Latin translations, but there is good reason for the belief that he himself wrote little in Latin and that his command of the language was slight. The three objects of his life, besides his missions to the Saracens, were the establishment of colleges and professorships, by means of which men could learn Arabic and obtain missionary training; the organisation of a Crusade which should have love and spiritual instruction rather than armed force as its basis; and the overthrow of the doctrines of the Moslem philosopher Averröes by demonstrating the place of reason in religion. In 1276 he founded the College of the Holy Trinity at Miramar in Majorca, where thirteen monks were enabled to learn Arabic. He lived there for ten years, during which he produced many works, including probably "The Order of Chivalry." Towards the end of his life, in 1311, he placed his favourite projects before the great Council of Vienne, and to his satisfaction it passed a decree establishing professorships in Oriental languages at Oxford, Paris and other universities.

Lull's first journey to Africa took place in 1291, the year of the fall of Acre and the end of the Crusades. At the last moment his heart failed him and he delayed his departure, but after his first venture not banishment, nor privation, nor imprisonment, nor threats of death could keep him from the little colony of converts that he established in Tunis and Bugia. In his last years he was obsessed with a yearning for martyrdom, and in 1315, when he was eighty years old, he came into the open to preach at Bugia after living twelve months in secret with his disciples. The enraged Saracens stoned him to death on the sea-shore. His memory is deeply venerated to the present day by the Majorcans, who gave him the title of "*Docteur illuminé et martyr.*"

Concerning Lull's literary production, M. Th. Ruysen writes in "*La Grande Encyclopédie*":—"Cet homme . . . n'avait pas composé, dit-on, moins de 486 ouvrages, traités de théologie, de philosophie, ou

d'alchimie, poèmes, etc. Il nous est parvenu sous son nom 313 ouvrages qui semblent avoir été écrits en arabe, en catalan, mais qui nous sont parvenus sous forme de traductions latines. Il est difficile d'y faire la part des ouvrages authentiques et des apocryphes. 184 sont inédits. Les 129 autres ont été imprimés, soit à part, soit dans la grande édition de Mayence (1741-2), soit encore dans la petite édition de Palma (1744-6)."

Lull's authorship of the "Order of Chivalry" is thoroughly well established. He refers to it himself in another authentic work, "Doctrina Pueril," in which he mentions several of his other compositions:—"Just as the commencement of chivalry was for the maintenance of justice, as I have said in the 'Book of the Order of Chivalry,' so in the beginning there were chosen good and holy and devout men,"¹ etc. (Ch. 81—Concerning Clerks.)

The similarity of thought and expression would almost suffice to identify the author, without the reference. Reminiscences of the "Order" can be found in many of Lull's writings, for he re-iterates his doctrines with little verbal variation. The following passage from the "Liber contemplationis in Deum" closely resembles a passage in Caxton's translation (42. 1-5):—"We see that these are they who stir up wars, kill men, destroy towns and castles, cut down trees and plants, make women widows and rob on the highways."

Most of the facts of Lull's life are known to us from a detailed biography, written by a friend, possibly Thomas le Myésier, during his lifetime and probably at his dictation. At the end of the biography are two lists of his works. The former is dated August 1311, and two of the items named are "Liber de militia" and "Liber clericorum." "Militia" is the regular mediæval Latin word for "chivalry," and the second book is "The Order of Clergy,"² mentioned at the end of "The Order of Chivalry."³

Ramón Lull's "Le Libre del Orde de Cauayleria" was first edited

¹ "En axi com lo comensament de cavalleria fo per mantenir justícia, segons que ja avem parlat en lo 'Libre del Orde de Cavalleria,' en axi en lo comensament foren elets homens bons e sants e devots," etc.

² This reference appears only in the original Catalan version:—"E cor nos havem a parlar del libre qui es del Orde de Clerecia, per ayso parlam tam breument del libre del Orde de Cauayleria." MM. Littre and Hauréau state that they do not know the "Order of Clergy," but it may certainly be identified with the "Liber Clericorum," which Lull sent to the Council of Vienne. It sets forth his favourite projects, and also laments the ignorance of the clergy, instructing them on the same formal subjects as are treated in Chapter 7 of the "Order."

³ There is an important reference to "The Order of Chivalry" in the "Acta Sanctorum," compiled by John Bolland (Joannes Bollandus) and dedicated to

in 1879 by Señor Aguiló y Fuster, librarian at the University of Barcelona, and was printed by Celesti Verdaguer. Señor Aguiló gives the following account of the publication:—"This work, lost since last century and of which I did not know more than the last word of the title, aroused my youthful imagination and my young desires, until after vain searches to find some trace of it, a learned son of Cadiz revealed in a certain publication thirty years ago the existence of an ancient copy in that city."¹

After much perseverance he obtained this MS. and another fragmentary one in the possession of a friend. These MSS., which he describes as "of the fifteenth century, till now unknown, and the only ancient traces that I know of this work,"² form the basis of his edition.

In 1901 a handsome edition of the Catalan tract, edited by José Ramón de Luanco, issued from the Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona. As Señor Aguiló remarks in the first passage quoted above, the tract was known in the eighteenth century and subsequently disappeared. Señor Luanco had the good fortune to discover another copy, accompanied by a translation into Castilian, an introduction and some explanatory notes. These were all ready for the press at the end of the eighteenth century, but they were not printed until Señor Luanco published them with a short preface of his own

Urban VIII., who was Pope from 1623-1644. On p. 642 and following pages of Vol. XXVII. there is a classified list of Lull's works, including the following:—

- "cvi. Liber militie secularis. Incipit: Ad significandum septem.
- cix. Liber de militia Clericali; alias De Clericis. Incipit: Liber iste.
- cx. Ars de Cavalleria: vernacule, ut credo."

The first entry quoted above contains the opening words of Lull's prologue to the "Order," and they correspond exactly to the Catalan quoted below. This confirms the statement of Anthoine Vérart, that the French version printed by him was translated from a Latin version, which is no longer extant. The "Acta" are written in Latin, but there can be no doubt that a Latin work is referred to here. When one of Lull's Catalan works is mentioned, the opening words are quoted in Catalan, or "vernacule" is added. It cannot be definitely affirmed that the third book mentioned is the Catalan version, because the title is not quite correct. As the writer has no first-hand knowledge in this case ("ut credo"), a slight error in the title is quite conceivable. On the other hand, the work may be one of the treatises of the technique of war which have been assigned, probably incorrectly, to Lull. Such are "De arte bellandi per mare et terras" and "De arte navigandi."

¹ "Esta obra perduda desde'l segle passat, & de la qual no'n conexia mes que'l mot darrer del titol, derondi ma fantasia de infant & ma cobejança de jove, fins que despres de vanes inquisicions per descubrirne algun trellat, un erudit fill de Cadiz revela l'existència de una copia."—Editor's introduction.

² "ii MSS del XVen segle fins aci no coneguts, & unichs trellats antichs que sapiam de esta obra."—Editor's conclusion.

in 1901. A very interesting account of the edition is given in this preface.

During the last years of the eighteenth century this copy was in the hands of Don Gaspar Melchor de Jove Llanos y Ramirez. He was a distinguished Spanish scholar, statesman and poet, whose life was written in 1814 by Don Juan Agustin Cean Bermudez. As Minister of Justice he fell into disfavour, apparently through no fault of his own. He was exiled to Majorca, and was treated with some harshness. He consoled himself, as a true scholar, by studying the history and literature of the island. Among a bundle of tracts by Ramón Lull, all in the same writing, which "some friendly hand" conveyed to the prisoner, was the "'Libre del Orde de Cavaylerie,' sacada la copia de un códice conservado en el Colegio de la Sapiencia de Palma." Señor Luanco conjectures that the copy at the College was that which Señor Aguiló found at Cadiz. The accompanying Castilian translation gives peculiar interest to Don Llanos' copy. The translator, who appears to have been a Majorcan monk, says in his introduction that Lull's dialect is now obsolete, and that he has prepared the translation "para conservar este monumento de la venerable antigüedad."

Señor Aguiló notes in his preface that in the fourteenth century D. Juan Manuel appropriated "The Order of Chivalry" in "Le Livre du Chevalier et de l'Ecuyer," while Johanot Martorell made considerable use of it in his celebrated romance, "Tirant le Blanc." As MM. Litré and Hauréau remark, the three works differ very considerably, but all have exactly the same introduction, the story of the hermit and the squire.

Two other men have at different times received the credit of writing this book. One was Hugh of Tabarie, the hero but not the author of the short poem "L'Ordène de Chevalerie"; the other was Symphorien Champier, of whom more will be said below. Mr. Stevenson in his introduction (pp. xiii *et seq.*) cleared away any misconceptions that were still current about these two men.

LATIN.—There is no extant Latin version of "The Order of Chivalry," but the colophon to Vêrart's text (1504) states:—"Cy finist le liure des eschez et lordre de cheualerie translate de latin en francoys."

As most of Lull's works are extant in Latin, there can be no doubt that Vêrart made use of a Latin version, such as is mentioned in "Acta Sanctorum."

FRENCH MSS.—There are numerous MSS. of French versions. Every MS. of which I could find a record is mentioned in the following list. I have seen and examined all except Wall's sixteenth-century copy. The order is roughly chronological, and a brief description of each is given, as it is instructive to notice the variety of dress and the kind of company in which a popular mediæval work was wont to appear.

1. **St. John's College, Oxford. Codex 102.** Late fourteenth century. Size of page—6·2" × 9·9".

The MS. is described in H. O. Coxe's catalogue¹:—"Codex membranaceus, in folio minori, ff. 149,² sec. xiv. exeuntis." It is made of vellum, which is in good condition, with the exception of about a dozen leaves at the beginning, in which are holes and discolorations.

On the verso of the first (unnumbered) leaf is written in a much later hand:—

"Hoc libro continentur

1. Le Romance de Melibee et Prudence.

2. Traite Politique sur les Devoirs respectifs de Princes & des Sujets.

3. Les Romanes des 7 Sages.

4. L'Ordre de Cheualerie."

The fifth item, a French version of the Tale of Griselde, Chaucer's Clerk's Tale, is not noted in this list. The second item is a well-known mediæval work, the pseudo-Aristotelian "Secretum Secretorum."

A careful examination of the handwriting, width of margin, method of ruling and shade of ink reveals the fact that items 3 and 5 are by one hand, and items 1, 2 and 4 are probably by three others. Large capitals in red, blue and gold, with a very simple border of leaves and flowers, ornament the first leaf of each item except the last. The capitals on ff. 2 and 34 are heavily smudged with black ink.

At the top of f. 3 is written:—

"Liber Collegii Stj. Johannis Baptistæ Oxon., ex dono Christophorj Coles, artium Bacchalaurej, ejusdem Coll: conuictoris. 1611."

¹ Vol. II. of Catalogue of Libraries of Colleges of the University of Oxford. Cat. Cod. MSS. Coll. S. Joh. Bap., p. 30.

² The number of leaves is actually 152, and the foliation begins on f. 2, which is numbered "1."

2. *Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.* French MS. 19810. Late fourteenth century. Parchment. 6.1" × 8".

The volume contains another item, "Mirouer de l'Eglise," translated from Latin into French by Jehan de Vignay. Both items are headed by a pen-and-ink miniature; the illustration to the "Ordre" shows the meeting of the hermit and the squire.

3. *Bibl. Nat., Paris.* French MS. 1971. Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Vellum. 5.2" × 7.4".

This little book of 59 leaves contains only the "Ordre," beautifully written in a formal hand. It has large initial letters to each chapter in gold, red and blue, the paragraph marks are red and blue, and the first page is decorated and contains a coloured miniature, showing the hermit handing the book to the squire.

4. **British Museum. Additional MS. 22768.** First half of fifteenth century. Vellum. 7.3" × 10.1". 115 leaves.

The book contains also Honoré Bonet's "L'Arbre des Batailles." The same hand appears throughout, closely resembling the style that predominates in the Oxford MS., from which this MS. is probably not far removed in date. Blue and vermilion are used for paragraph marks, which are numerous and more intelligently distributed than in Caxton, and for the initial letters of chapters, which are ornamented with delicate penwork. The MS. is a refined and unpretentious piece of work.

5. *Bibl. Nat., Paris.* French MS. 1972. Fifteenth century. Vellum. 8.2" × 8".

It also contains "Melibée et Prudence" by Albertanus de Brixia. It is not ruled and has no ornamentation.

6. *Bibl. Nat., Paris.* French MS. 1973. Fifteenth century. Paper. 5.4" × 8.4".

The "Ordre" is followed by an Epistle to Alexandre and an Epistle of St. Bernard. The only ornament is a neat miniature of the hermit and squire, together with the well, the tree and the hermitage with its bell on the roof.

7. *Bibl. Nat., Paris.* French MS. 19809. Fifteenth century. Parchment. 6.2" × 8.8".

A printed notice states that this MS., as well as MS. 19810, belonged in 1732 to Henri du Cambout, Duc de Coislin.

8. *Bibl. Nat., Paris.* French MS. 1130. Fifteenth century.

This MS. contains only a fragment of the "Ordre," comprising the preface, table of chapters, and beginning of the description of the hermit.

9. **British Museum. Royal MS. 14 E ii.**¹ About 1480. Vellum, excellently preserved save for a few holes. $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 18\frac{1}{2}''$. Double columns. 357 leaves, of which the last three are blank, save for the lines ruled in pale red.

This is one of the magnificent products of the Bruges craftsmen, and was compiled for King Edward IV. of England. It was from such MSS. as this that Colard Mansion, and William Caxton designed the type called by Blades² "Caxton No. 1." The huge volume, with bold black letters whose body is $\frac{1}{4}$ in. high, was evidently intended to be read from a lectern to the assembled court.

The contents are as follows:—

1. *Le Chemin de Vaillance*, by Jean de Courey (c. 1426). [f. 1.]
2. *Le traittie Othea*, by Christine de Pisan. [f. 295.]
3. *Le breviaire des nobles*, by Alain Chartier. [f. 332.]
4. *Les ix malheureux et les ix malheureuses*. [f. 335 b.]
5. *L'Ordre de Chevalerie*. [f. 338.]

The book is beautifully illuminated with miniatures of various sizes, including a picture of the hermit and the squire; with initial letters and paragraph marks in blue, pink and gold; and with borders containing Yorkist badges and a remarkable variety of birds.

10. *Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.* MS. 31.1.9.

This MS. was written about 1532 by Thomas Wall, Windsor Herald, for presentation to the Duke of Suffolk, Great Marshal of England. It is sumptuously bound.³

Note.—"L'Ordre de Chevalerie" has constantly been confused with the short thirteenth-century poem "L'Ordène de Chevalerie," in which Saladin receives knighthood at the hands of his prisoner Sir Hugh of Tiberias. In the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris there are MSS. of the prose "Ordre," of the poem "L'Ordène," and of a prose version of the poem. These three are confused in the bibliography given on p. 293 of M. Léon Gautier's "La Chevalerie." The actual facts are these.

The poem "L'Ordène" is contained in French MSS. 781, 837, 1553 of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

A prose version of "L'Ordène" is contained on ff. 124-6 of Fr. MS. 17203. It begins, "Ci en droit dist li contes que autans le roi Salehadin," and ends, "Ci faut li contes de mon seigneur Huon de

¹ See Ward's "Catalogue of Romances," Vol. I. p. 992, and "Catalogue of Royal and King's MSS.," Vol. II. p. 139.

² William Blades included a facsimile of a column of this folio in his "Life and Typography of William Caxton" (1861-3), Vol. I. Plate IV.

³ See "Gilbert of the Haye's Prose MS." Vol. II. p. xi, p. xiii note, and p. xxxv.

Tabarie, le prince de Galilee, et de Salehadin." Another prose version of the poem, beginning, "Et tans que Salehadins regna, il ot .i. prince en Galilee," is contained on ff. 214-16 of Fr. MS. 25462.

The prose "Ordre," as is stated above, is found complete in Fr. MS. 1971, 1972, 1973, 19809, 19810, and in part in 1130.

FRENCH PRINTED EDITIONS.—Two editions of "L'Ordre de Chevalerie" appeared in Paris in 1504 and 1505. The true relation between them does not appear to have been hitherto made clear.

Mr. J. H. Stevenson¹ writes :—"The first of the French prints, dated with the greatest precision, the 6th of September, 1504, was issued from the press of Anthoine Vérart of Paris as the first of two appendices to his print of 'Le Jeu des Eschez Moralise,'² the second appendix consisting of the Jouvenceaux entitled 'Mellibee . . . et . . . Prudence. . . .' A second issue of Vérart's print bears the date .1505."

From this it appears that the sale of the book was so good that Vérart in the following year re-issued the same print, altering only the date.

The British Museum possesses a copy of each print, and a comparison of these shows that this was not the case. Both prints contain the same printed matter, but the books differ entirely from each other in size, type and arrangement, while the colophons show that they were issued from different presses.

The 1504 edition contains 106 leaves, measuring 7·3" × 10", printed in double columns, with 34 or 35 lines to a full column. There are four woodcuts, two of which occupy a whole page. The frontispiece consists of a centre rectangle, in which are represented a king and queen playing chess, surrounded by twelve small rectangles, containing representations of the persons described in the "Jeu des Eschez." The leaves are numbered, but not the chapters. The "Ordre" is thus introduced :—"Sensuyt ung liure qui consone fort a la matiere precedente du dict Jeu des eschez. A tous nobles : princes : cheualliers et gens de tous estatz." The "Order" is clearly separated from the preceding and following pieces, but the page-heading, "Du Jeu des Eschez Fueillet—," continues throughout, and the list of chapters at the commencement gives no indication of a change of subject.

¹ Vol. II. p. xxxvi.

² The French original of Caxton's "Game and Play of Chess."

The colophon is as follows :—

“Cy finist le liure des eschez et lordre de cheualerie translate de latin en francoys imprime nouuellement a Paris et fut acheue Le vendredi vi iour de septembre Lan. M. vc. & iiii Pour anthoine verart Libraire iure en Luniversite de Paris demourant a paris a limaige saint iehan leuangeliste deuant la rue neufue nostre dame. Du au premier pilie du palais ou lon chante la messe des presidents.”

The 1505 edition contains 90 leaves, measuring 4·8" × 7·4", printed right across the page, with 38 lines to a full page. There are two full-page woodcuts. The one is an imitation, though by no means a close one, of the frontispiece to the 1504 edition. The other is found on the last page and consists of the printer's elaborate device. The chapters are numbered, but not the leaves. The commencement of “L'Ordre” is noted in the list of chapters, but the chapters are numbered consecutively as though the three pieces were one.

The colophon is as follows :—

“Cy finist le liure des eschez (*sic*) & lordre de cheualerie translate de latin en francoys. Imprime a paris : & fut acheue Le xxiiii iour de novembre mil cinq cens & cinq. Par Michel le noir libraire iure en luniuersite de paris. Demourant deuant saint Denys de la chartre a lymaige nostre dame.”

The colophon to Vêrart's edition states that it was printed *for* Vêrart, and not necessarily by him. It might be surmised, therefore, that Michel was the printer of the former edition, and that the second print was also executed under Vêrart's auspices. This supposition cannot be entertained, however, because in all the 238 publications of Vêrart described in John Macfarlane's monograph (*Bibliog. Soc.*, 1900) there is not a single case in which Vêrart allowed one of his publications to appear with the printer's name but without his own. Vêrart, who was a notable bookseller in his day, was notoriously ungenerous in his treatment of his printers, frequently suppressing their names and deleting their colophons.

As his pretentious device in the form of a coat of arms indicates, Michel le Noir was a man of considerable position. Like Vêrart, he was “libraire juré en l'université de Paris.” In the same year, 1505, he printed Froissart's “Chronicles,” which had been printed by Vêrart c. 1495 and again c. 1497. Michel's print of “Le Jeu des Eschez” and the other pieces was clearly an independent enterprise, for which Vêrart's print was used as copy. There was little business etiquette

among booksellers before the days of copyright, and Michel, seeing the popularity of Vérart's book, evidently determined to print a smaller and handier edition.

In view of the extreme scarcity of early sixteenth-century prints of "*L'Ordre de Chevalerie*," it is only fitting that the name of Michel le Noir should be added to those of Anthoine Vérart and Vincent Portunaris as one of its earlier printers.

In 1510 Vincent Portunaris of Lyons printed a book ¹ with this title :—

"Le recueil ou croniques des histoires des royaumes daustrasie ou france orientale dite a present lorraine De hierusalem, de cicile. Et de la duche de bar. Ensemble des saintz contes et euesques de toulx contenant sept liures tant en latin que en francoys. . . . Oultre ce que dessus y a adieste le liure intitule *L'ordre de cheualerie*, par lequel est demonstre comme les cheualiers se doibuent faire et les vertus qui doibuent estre en eulx."

Then follows a Latin address, "*Ad lectorem*," concluding, "*Et valete Fauste. CHAMPIER.*"

The book contains 110 leaves, measuring 6·5" × 9·8". There is no pagination. "*L'Ordre*" has a separate title-page, on the verso of which is a woodcut of a knight on horseback. Above the "*prohesme*" is a curious woodcut showing a king, attended by his courtiers, about to dub some knights. The four squires who are about to receive knighthood are kneeling with their backs to the king and with their hands in an attitude of prayer, while a man is addressing the king and apparently interrupting the ceremony.

"*L'Ordre*" begins with the following dedication, which also appears in Wall's MS. copy :—

"*Cy commence le liure intitule l'ordre de cheualerie enuoye a treshault & vertueux prince monseigneur Anthoine duc et marchis de lorraine, duc de calabre & de bar, par son treshumble et obeyssant conseiller et premier medicin Simphorien champier.*"

Three woodcuts at the end of "*L'Ordre*" illustrate the siege of Troy. On the last leaf there is a very interesting letter from Jehan le Maire, judiciary and historiographer to the Duchess of Savoy, to M. Pierre Pitot, the Duchess' physician, in praise of "*ce trespolegant philosophe orateur historien et phisicien messire Simphorien champier lyonnoys*," and concluding with some commendatory verses. Finally there is a notice in which it is definitely stated that the book (in-

¹ The British Museum has three copies.

cluding 'L'Ordre de Chevalerie,' to which the notice seems particularly to refer) was composed at Nancy in Lorraine and finished by Symphorien Champier on March 10, 1510.

Thus this person, who was born in 1472 and wrote a large number of books, claimed as his own, and received full credit for, a work which had been written about 1280, translated into French in the fourteenth century, and turned into Scots by Sir Gilbert Hay in 1456.

In 1859 there was published at Lyons an "Étude sur Symphorien Champier, suivie de divers opuscules françois de S. C.," by Paul Allut. This volume contains a reprint of Portunaris' edition of "L'Ordre."

ENGLISH.—Caxton's "Book of the ordre of chyualry or knyghthode."

The most recent and authoritative bibliographical accounts of this print are those contained in Mr. Seymour de Ricci's "A Census of Caxtons"¹ (1909) and Mr. Gordon Duff's "Fifteenth-Century English Books"² (1917). The following note is taken from the former.

"*Order of Chivalry*. . . . Quarto. (52 ff., the first and last blanks: a-f⁸ g⁴. 26 lines. 130 × 80 mm.) Type 4+ and 3. Printed between June 1483 and August 1485."³

Copies known.

1. *British Museum*. 1 A 55071.⁴ Nearly perfect, without first and with final blank. Very clean. Formerly bound with Machlinia's "Monk of Evesham." Now red mor. (200 × 140 mm.).

2. The Earl of Oxford; then (1743) Osborne; then (before 1815) Earl Spencer; now Manchester, *John Rylands Library*, n. 12015. Made perfect, without blanks, with a number of ff. (inlaid) from a shorter copy. Formerly in russia leather; now olive mor. by C. Lewis (198 × 137 mm.).

3. Bought between 1815 and 1820 by Earl Spencer; now Manchester, *John Rylands Library*,⁵ n. 12015. Imperfect, 15 ff.

¹ Bibliog. Soc. Illustr. Monograph, XV.

² Bibl. Monograph, XVIII.

³ There is no date, nor are the printer's name and address given. The book is dedicated to Richard III., who ascended the throne June 26, 1483, and was killed August 22, 1485. The "Order" is generally assigned to 1484.

⁴ Mr. De Ricci has "1 B 55071," which is incorrect.

⁵ This copy is not noted by Blades nor by any earlier writer.

(all a; b 1-7), but with final blank. Blue mor. by Fazakerley (175 × 118 mm.).

4. Early owner: Randle Holme; then Joseph Ames; then John Ratcliffe's sale (March 1776) to Nichol for King George III.; then (1829) *British Museum* (King's) c 11, a 19. Imperfect, 3 ff. (including both blanks; a 8 in facs. by Whittaker), a 2 mounted. Old red mor. with Royal arms (179 × 130 mm.).

5. Archibald Fraser of Lovat's sale (February 1852) to Boone for the Earl of Ashburnham; his sale (June 1897) to Pickering for Richard Bennett; now *J. Pierpont Morgan's* collection. Imperfect, 3 ff. (g 2-4), but with first blank. Slight stains. MS. notes ascribed without reason to Roger Ascham. Old calf (198 × 135 mm.).

Present owner untraced.

6. "*James West's* sale (March 1773) to G. Mason. 'A fine copy in russia.'"

Additional particulars are given in William Blades' "*Life and Typography of William Caxton*,"¹ (1863):—"There is no title-page. The type is No. 4+, but two headings at the beginning of the work² are in type No. 3. The lines, which measure 3½ ins., and of which there are 26 to a full page, are fully spaced out. Without folios or catchwords. Initial letters cut in wood are used. . . . [On sig. a iii] a large floriated 'A,' 8 lines deep, being the same block that was used in Aesop."

All commentators have emphasised the great interest of this work, both as a specimen of Caxton's typographical skill in its maturity, and as a curious disquisition, containing much interesting matter and concluding with one of the finest examples of Caxton's original writing—the exhortation to the knights of England.

The early printers naturally imitated the practice of the scribes in establishing their methods of arrangement, which they gradually modified to suit their convenience. Even the practice of printing two pages at a time was not immediately introduced, either on the Continent or by Caxton in England. Caxton was a very conservative printer, and when he printed "*The Ordre of Chyualry*" his typographical habits were practically settled. The great device—"W.C. 74"³—which appeared in 1487 is the only important feature of his art which is not found in the "*Ordre*." He never introduced title-

¹ Vol. II. p. 160.

² Sig. a ii, a iii.

³ "74" probably refers to the year 1474, when Caxton printed his first translation, "*The Recuyell of the Histories of Troye*."

pages, although his pupil, Wynkyn de Worde, did so immediately after his death. Instead, he commenced a book with a blank leaf, after the practice of the scribes. This leaf is often wanting, having been lost in binding. Mr. Pierpont Morgan has the only copy of the "Ordre" in which the first blank leaf remains. Herbert,¹ not knowing that this copy existed, surmised that the title-page, and perhaps a woodcut, had been lost, since the text begins on sig. a. ii. Few scribes recorded their names and the date in MSS., and the first printers, to the confusion of bibliographers, followed their example in many of their works. Caxton introduced signatures and evenly spaced lines in 1480. Owing to the difficulty of adjusting type without a "setting-rule," many words at the end of a line are contracted (as "mē" for "men") or finished on the next line. No regard could be paid to syllabic division, as the following example from the "Ordre" show:—hono | ur, kny | ght, knygh | tes, whi | che, da | yes. Paragraph marks were first used by Caxton in 1483, and in the "Ordre" they are introduced sparingly, and with little discrimination. The first woodcut initial to appear in Caxton is the large floriated "A" which is found in "Aesop" (1484) and in the "Ordre of Chyualry."

In his revision of Ames' "Typographical Antiquities" (1785), William Herbert¹ mentions three copies of the "Ordre":—"In possession of his Majesty;² Geo. Mason, Esq.;³ and in the British Museum."⁴ It is curious, therefore, that Dibdin, in his revision of Ames' and Herbert's work (1810), should say: "The copy of this work in the British Museum has, I believe, been considered to be *unique*."⁵ Dibdin gives a very full account of the "Ordre"⁶ and reprints the following:—

1. Proheme and table of chapters.
2. First chapter, concerning the knight and the squire.
3. Caxton's epilogue, with copious comments from Lewis' "Life of Caxton" (1737).
4. Most of Chapter 6.

¹ "Typ. Ant.," Vol. I. p. 56.

² No. 4 in Mr. De Ricci's list above.

³ No. 6, the copy which has disappeared.

⁴ No. 1, which Herbert says was bound with the "Monk of Evesham."

⁵ Dibdin later discovered another copy, No. 2, which is described in his "Bibliotheca Spenceriana," Vol. IV. p. 286.

⁶ Vol. I. pp. 221-239 and 366-372. In the second passage he gives the erroneous opinion that a prose copy, such as one at Notre Dame, Paris, of 'L'Ordène de Chevalerie,' was Caxton's original.

5. A rather inaccurate copy, made by Herbert, of an imperfect MS. concerning the making of a Knight of the Bath.¹ It is contained on the verso of sig. g 3 and both sides of the final blank leaf of the British Museum copy 1 A 55071.

Dibdin considered the "Ordre" "one of the most elegant specimens of Caxton's press," and admired "the neatness of the register (or setting up of the text) and amplitude of the margin." He thought, however, that "the type is not the choicest of those used by Caxton." As Mr. Blades has pointed out,² Caxton's ink was very weak, requiring only slight pressure on the form. The result unfortunately was that the ink, squeezing over the sides of the type, contorted its shape and gave it a battered appearance in the impression. With large types the evil is not so noticeable, but types 4 and 4+ were the smallest of Caxton's founts, and in the "Ordre of Chyualry" there are many blurred and broken letters. It is to this fact that I attribute Dibdin's stricture on the type, which is decidedly pleasing in design.

The only reprint of the "Ordre of Chyualry" was executed by William Morris at the Kelmscott Press in 1892, with a brief comment by the late Mr. F. S. Ellis. It was bound with a reprint, and a translation by William Morris, of the short French poem "L'Ordène de Chevalerie."

SCOTS.—1. **Gilbert of the Haye's Prose MS.** (*The Abbotsford MS.*)

This MS., which is fully described by Mr. J. H. Stevenson,³ contains Sir Gilbert Hay's three translations, done in 1456—

1. The Buke of Batailles (from Bonet's "Arbre des Batailles").⁴
2. The Buke of the Order of Knychthede (from "Le Livre de l'Ordre de Chevalerie").
3. The Buke of the Governance of Princes (from the "Secretum Secretorum").⁵

In 1722 the MS. belonged to Dr. George Mackenzie, who gave a full analysis of the three items in Vol. III. of his "Lives and Characters of the Most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation." Both he and Hay seem to have thought that Bonet, who was Prior of Salon

¹ Vol. II. p. 28. See below, Appendix I.

² "Life and Typography of William Caxton." Vol. II. p. xlvi.

³ Vol. I. pp. vii to xxiii.

⁴ Cf. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 22768. For an account of this work see Mr. Stevenson's edition of Hay, Vol. I. pp. lxiv *et seq.*

⁵ Cf. St. John's, Oxford, MS. 102.

about 1382, was the author of "L'Ordre." Probably Bonet's work was frequently bound with it, as in the British Museum MS., Add. 22768.

In 1847 Beriah Botfield edited Hay's "Buke of Knychthede" for the Abbotsford Club. In the same volume he reprinted Caxton's Prologue, table of chapters, first chapter (the hermit and the squire) and colophon.

2. British Museum, Harleian MS. 6149.

This MS., which contains a copy of Caxton's "Ordre of Chyualry," together with other items of considerable interest, was compiled in 1494 by Adam Loutfut, Kintyr Pursuivant, a Scottish scribe who was in the service of Sir William Cummyn of Inverellochy, Marchemond Herald and (after 1512) Lyon King of Arms. The volume contains 174 leaves,¹ measuring 7.5" × 10". The following is a copy of the description in the old printed part of the Harleian catalogue:²—

"An heraldical book in 4°, written in a very old hand, partly upon vellum, partly upon paper,³ and containing several treatises, some of which are in Latin, viz.—

"1. An heraldical tract, beginning with a proclamation from 'Arthur Son to the Duke of Bertaignie, erle of Richemont,' . . . called 'The Gaige of Battail.' [f. 1.]

2. A treatise of the signification of Armory, showing in what respects arms are honourable, from the properties of birds, beasts, fishes, and all other bearings. [f. 5.]

At the end is 'Explicit iste liber honorabil. armig. Wilelm. civit. de Jordelleth als. marchemond herald.', or something near it, with date 1494."

[This has been crossed out in the Catalogue and the correct reading, as deciphered by Dr. F. J. Furnivall and Mr. Bond, late Keeper of the MSS.,⁴ is written in the margin—

"Explicit iste liber honorabili armigero Wilelmo Cummyn de Inverellochy alias Marchemond heraldo."

It is difficult to read the MS. here, because the words have been obliterated with red ink. After "heraldo," the signature of the

¹ The 105th leaf is numbered "104+," the 106th "105," and so on to "173."

² Vol. III. p. 332.

³ Two or three vellum leaves follow six or eight paper.

⁴ See "A Booke of Precedence, etc.," E.E.T.S. Extra Series, viii. 1869, Introd. p. xvii.

scribe "Adam Loutfut," can easily be read, with the date, September 29, 1494, when he was engaged on that leaf (f. 44.).]

"3. Of the habiliments of Knights and Esquires. [f. 44.]

4. Directions to Pursuivants and Herald's for Funerals. [f. 48.]

5. Liber Armorum. The first chapter begins, 'How gentilmen shal be knowene from churles, and how thai fyrst began, and how Noye dyvyded the world in thre parts to his thre sonnes.' [f. 52.]

6. De coloribus in armis depictis et eorum nobilitate ac differentia. [f. 62.]

7. Heraldorum nomen et officium. [f. 79.]

8. Thordre of Chevalry. [f. 83.]

9. Concerning the Law of Arms. [f. 109.]

10. The Coronation of the Emperor. [f. 115 *b*.]

11. Concerning Kings, Dukes, etc. [f. 118.]

12. The Oath at the making of knights. [f. 122 *b*.]

13. The seven deeds of honour and their seven crowns. [f. 124.]

14. Translacion out of Latyn into Ynglis of a buke de bello campestri. [f. 128 *b*.]

15. Duodecim consideranda antequam bellum contra adversarios commitetur. [f. 132 *b*.]

16. The origin and description of heraldry with many shields coloured. [f. 134.]

17. A Poem on Heraldry. [f. 151.]

18. De Nobilitate. [f. 155.]

19. De Duellis." [f. 164 *b*.]

Besides the reference to the scribe and his patron on f. 44, the following passage occurs on f. 78:—"en eftyr folowis ane lytil treaty of the Instruccion of the figures of armes and of the blasoning of the samyn eftir the fraynche oppinyon translatit owt of fraynche in Scottes at pe command of an wirschepfull man Wilzim Cumyn of Inuerellochy alias Marchemond herald be his obedient sone in the office of armes Kintyr purseuant and undir his correccion as eftir folowis be cheptours." A page of scribble takes the place of the treatise thus introduced. The next leaf is cut out of the volume.

Ff. 1 to 44 and 83 to the end are in the handwriting of Adam Loutfut, who also wrote the passage on f. 78, quoted above. Ff. 44-59 *b* are in a more cursive hand, quite different from Loutfut's. A third scribe is responsible for ff. 60-61 *b* and the Latin pieces, items

6 and 7 [ff. 62 to 77 and 79 to 82].¹ There is little reason to doubt that the work was completed soon after September 29, 1494, when the scribe was engaged on f. 44. At that point Loutfut delegated some of the work to assistants, and then completed it probably a few weeks later; the style of handwriting and even the shade of ink, which is blacker than in the middle part, are identical at the beginning and at the end of the book.

Although the writing throughout is good, and the coloured shields² and the "seven crowns of honour"³ are done with some care, the volume was evidently compiled with a view to utility rather than ornament. There are many blank leaves, frequently defaced with scribble in a hand not much later than the scribe's. Some items are begun and never completed; thus f. 126 *b* contains half a page of Latin, while f. 127 is blank. Some of the shields are not filled in, as on f. 42. Some leaves have apparently been lost at the end of the book, as a fresh item begins at the bottom of the last page.

The book has undergone some rough usage. The vellum, which is very discoloured, has many holes and slits, and in several places large portions of leaves, both vellum and paper, have been torn away and since restored.⁴ A stain, which is deepest on f. 167, appears at the top of ff. 144 to 173. The name of a previous owner, "George Lee," is written in pencil on several leaves, once with the date 1684.

The only ruled lines are those enclosing the text in a rectangle, measuring about 4.5" $\times$ 6.6". There are about 34 lines to a page in the "Order of Chivalry." Vermilion is used for chapter headings, initial letters of paragraphs or chapters, and occasionally for underlining. There are no paragraph marks and the only punctuation mark is an occasional full-stop. There is a marginal summary in the "Order of Chivalry" and some other places.

The paper contains various water-marks, the two most common being a coat of arms and a unicorn.

This volume did not escape the searching eye of Dr. F. J. Furnivall. In 1869 he printed the poem on heraldry (item 17) in an E.E.T.S. publication, containing "A Booke of Precedence" and other

¹ Mr. Stevenson states that the whole book is in one hand (Vol. II. p. xxxi). Dr. Furnivall thought that items 6 and 7 were probably written by another hand ("Book of Precedence," p. xx).

² There are 161 of these on ff. 145 *b*-150 *b*, besides those illustrating item 2.

³ Illustrating item 13.

⁴ Cf. ff. 18, 35, 104, 126.

pieces on manners and courtesy. He was informed by "a learned authority on Scotch heraldry" that the poem could not have been written originally by a Scot. "The conclusion then forced on me," wrote Dr. Furnivall, "was that Adam Loutfut, Sir William Cummyn's scribe, had copied the poem from an English original and scottified it as he copied, in the same way as he has scottified in leaves 83 to 109 of his MS., a 'Buk of thordre of Cheualry' . . . which scottification I hope some day to print opposite Caxton's own text, to see what the worthy Adam has made of our rare old printer's southern speech."

On p. xxi of his introduction, Dr. Furnivall quotes a full account of William Cummyn (or Cumyn, or Cuming) from the Appendix to George Seton's "*Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland*" (1863). Cummyn was knighted in 1507 and was made Lyon King of Arms about 1512. Reference is made to him in charters as "circumspectus" and "sapiens." The most notable incident recorded of him is the blow which he received from Lord Drummond in 1515. This insult led to Drummond's imprisonment by the King for a short time. The "Order of Chivalry" evidently pleased Cummyn so well that he later procured a printed copy of the original, for the British Museum copy of V^{ér}art's print contains on the title-page his title, Marchemond Herald, and the monogram of his scribe, Adam Loutfut.

There are extant several manuscript copies of Loutfut's heraldic compilation. Mr. J. H. Stevenson mentions John Scrymgeour's copy,¹ made about 1530, and Sir David Lindsay's copy,² made in 1586. He does not mention a much earlier copy, MS. 161 in the library of *Queen's College, Oxford*. It is thus described by H. O. Coxe:—

"Chartaceus, in folio ff. 128, sec. xv. exeuntis; manu R. Andersoun scriptus."

On the last page of the MS. is written:—

"Explicit per M. R. Andersoun, pro ejus anima preces effundite. Deo regum gratias; Amen, Ihesu."

"Outside the cover on a ducal cap is a lion, passant crowned, and round it the initials, 'I.M.A.' " (H. O. Coxe.)

The MS., which measures 8·5" × 11·8," is not badly written, but in every other respect it is a poor production. There are no ruled lines, illuminations or coloured ink. The paper is of poor quality,

¹ Vol. II. p. xxxiii. Adv. Lib., Edinburgh, MS. 31.5.2.

² Vol. II. p. xxxiv. Adv. Lib., MS. 31.3.20.

with wire lines '9" apart but without a water-mark. The book is now nearly falling to pieces and the cover is greatly damaged. Only the first two leaves, however, are seriously defaced. The book is very closely written, the number of lines to a page varying from 39 to 50. The "Order of Chivalry" occupies ff. 65 to 82 b.

An examination of any passage shows that the writer was copying Loutfut. Anderson's prologue is given below, and it will be seen that he has sometimes copied Loutfut's mistakes, as in "quhen" for Caxton's "owen," and that he has sometimes tried to rectify them, as in "substance" for Loutfut's "suffisans," which is a misreading of Caxton's "sygnefyauce." The orthography is slightly altered, showing a somewhat later spelling. The orthographical *i* is more frequent, *ane* for *a* or *an*, as "*ane knyght*," is common, and *quhilk* is regular. The Scottish plural in *-is* is always found.

Anderson's prologue:—"Heir begynnis þe tabill of þis present buke intitult þe buke of þe ordour of cheualrye or knichtheid. Onto þe praysing of devyne glore of god quhilk is lorde and king abone and oure all thingis celestiall and warldlie, we begin þis buke of the ordouris of cheualrye for to schaw þat to þe substance of god þe prince almichty quhilk seygyreth abone þe vii planettis þat makis þe cours celestiall and his power and senzeorie in governing and ordaning þe bodyis terrester and arthely þat inlikwis quhen þe kingis princis and grete lordis to haue pussance and senzeory apone þe knichtis and þe knichtis by simylytude auchten to haue poweir and domination oure þe moyen pepill. And þus buke contenis viii cheptouris."

§ 2. CLASSIFICATION OF THE MSS. AND TEXTS OF "THE ORDER OF CHIVALRY" ACCORDING TO VARIATIONS IN SUBJECT MATTER.

As we fortunately possess the original of "The Order of Chivalry," we can trace with some accuracy the history of the changes wrought in it as it passed from language to language and from century to century. The story is one both of accretions and of variations. Lull's original version is the shortest; it contains rather more than 13,500 words. Caxton's and the French versions have about 17,000 words, and Hay's is expanded to almost twice that amount.

LULL'S "ORDE DE CAUAYLERIA."

Lull's version is the most concise; it comprises all the ideas contained in Caxton, but the French scribes are responsible for whatever embroidery or decoration there is in the English version. Thus an examination of Lull's work shows that he did not write any of the illustrative passages which enliven the homiletics of the seventh chapter. The parable of the vineyard, the speech of Judas Maccabaeus, the story of Alexander and the soldiers of the avaricious king, the superstition about the ill luck caused by seeing in the morning a woman with her head uncovered (which Hay mistranslates as "a naked woman");—all these will be sought in vain in Lull's "Orde de Cauayleria."

Lull's prologue, or introductory paragraph before the table of chapters, is also the shortest of all. It is as follows:—

"Per significāca de les vii planetes qui son corsos celestials, e gouernene e ordonen los corsos terrenals, departim aquest libre de cauayleria en vii parts, a demostrar que los cauaylers han honor e senyoria sobre lo poble a ordonar e a deffendre."¹

The introductory romance is treated as a proem, and the seven chapters of the discourse thus correspond to the seven planets. This piece of symbolism is discarded in the later versions, in which the work is divided into eight chapters. Two prologues, differing from each other in the opening invocation, were derived from this original. One version is found in Portunaris' print of 1510 and in Wall's MS. copy;² the other occurs in Caxton and the remaining French and Scottish versions. They are here given side by side, as far as they differ.

Add. MS. 22768.

A la louenge et a la gloire de
la prouidence³ divine dieu qui
est seignour et roy souuerain par
dessus toutes choses celestes et
terrestes, nous commenczons cest
liure de lordre de cheualerie
pour demonstrier que a la signi-

Portunaris.

A Lhonneur dicelluy qui par
sa prouidence colloca la terre au
centre du monde qui est cause des
causes, duquel la sapience a
remply toutes choses, qui est
unite parfaite, qui donne aux
princes regner, duquel prouien-

¹ "According to the significance of the seven planets which are celestial courses, and govern and control terrestrial courses, we divide this book of chivalry into seven parts, to show that knights have honour and authority over the people to rule and defend them."

² Mr. J. H. Stevenson states that other MSS. with this prologue are extant, but he gives no particulars.

³ The correct reading is *proueance*, which is found in all the other MSS. and prints of this version of the prologue.

fiance de dieu le prince tout puissant qui signourie, etc.

nent toutes victoires & triumphes, qui est une esphere inintelligible, duquel le centre est par tout, et le circonference en nul lieu. Pretendons cestuy liure parfaire qui est de lordre de cheualerie que a la signifiante de dieu le prince tout puissant qui seigneurist, etc.

Both versions conclude as in Caxton.¹ Mr. Stevenson² takes this variation in the prologue as the basis for a division of the MSS. into two groups, representing two independent translations from a common original. It will be shown below that the variations throughout the Royal MS. provide a sounder basis for classification.

French MSS and Prints.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.—The fullest and most accurate of the MSS. examined are the five at Paris and the one at St. John's College, Oxford. All these are practically identical, and J.³ may be taken as typical. A.³ differs from them in containing errors and omissions due to careless copying. It also compresses certain passages, which are similarly compressed or entirely omitted in Caxton. R.³ shows considerable variations from J. and A. No other version resembles it, with the possible exception of Sir Gilbert Hay's paraphrase, and it may represent an independent translation from the Catalan. It is equally probable that the variations are the work of a copyist who was less mechanical and more enterprising than usual.

PARIS AND OXFORD MSS.—The variations among the Paris and Oxford MSS. are slight. The Paris MS. 19810 has an interesting peculiarity. In a great many places it uses a pair of synonymous words where the other MSS. and Caxton have only one word.

The following examples are taken from the first few pages.

C. thordre, MS. lordre et lestat (14.6); C. in thordre of chyualrye, MS. en lordre et en la dignite de cheualerie (12.17); C. wol (= will), MS. veulx et desires (18.6); C. to his commaundements and honours, MS. a ses commencements a ses dignitez et a ses honneurs (18.15).

¹ "whiche seynoryeth . . . the moyen peple." (p. 1, l. 8—p. 2, l. 1). After this, Portunaris' print alone has a humble address by Symphorien Champier to his patron, the Duke of Lorraine.

² Vol. II. pp. ix-x.

³ See List of Abbreviations, p. viii.

Among the list of a squire's duties Caxton and all the French versions except J. have "to arme and to adoube (equip) a knight" (armer et adouber). The scribe of J. has copied this as "amer et a doubter" (to love and fear a knight).

J. is sometimes fuller than the other French texts; cf. pp. 31.3 and 43.12, where the phrases quoted are omitted altogether by Caxton.

ADD. MS. 22768.—A. would correspond almost exactly to Caxton, if it were not for its very numerous careless omissions of words and phrases, its occasional alterations of words and errors in copying. Sometimes the omission makes nonsense of the sentence.

E.g.

R. (La cheuallerie) est maintenue par fors hommes et combatours, et est auilee par hommes lasches et faillis de cuer, vaincus et fuyans.

A. (La cheualerie) est maintenant par fors hommes, laschez et failliz de cuer, non puissans, vaincus et fuissans. C. 56.13.

C. And also hope is pryncipal Instrument to vse thoffice of a knyght, lyke as the honde of a carpenter is pryncipal Instrument of carpentrye. 92.11.

A. Et aussi esperance est principal instrument de charpenterie.

FRENCH PRINTS.—The prints of Vérart, Michel le Noir and Portunaris are all taken from MSS. of the class of A. and J. Portunaris' print contains the other version of the prologue, but it does not represent an alternative version of the "Ordre." The only respect in which Portunaris differs from Vérart is in the division of his book into seven chapters. Chapters 7 and 8 are combined into one, and a section corresponding to pp. 109.7 to 116.2 in Caxton is omitted. The versions printed by Vérart in 1504 and by Michel in 1505 are identical.

ROYAL MS. 14 E ii.—Although the general sequence of matter in R. is exactly the same as in the versions just described, R.'s variations from these are sufficiently numerous to justify its classification outside the main group. The most striking difference occurs in the enumeration of the articles of the faith in Chapter 5, but throughout the MS. the scribe constantly uses a word or phrase different from that in the other versions. Any one of these variations, taken alone, seems of little account, but the cumulative effect is impressive. R. contains numerous sentences which do not appear in any other version; cf.

5. 7, 14. 2, 94. 2. In Chapters 6 and 7 a large number of less essential phrases are omitted.

R.'s version from pp. 69. 1 to 71. 3 is much longer and fuller than the others, and frequently differs from them, both in arrangement and in expression. The seven articles that appertain to the Deity are comprised in four, while R.'s fifth article is found nowhere else :—

“Le V^e est croire nostre mere sainte eglise que dieu a ordounée pour voye et chemin de nostre saulvement.”

R. alone quotes Gabriel's words to the Virgin :—

“Aue maria, gratia plena, dominus tecum.”

Similarly, in the ten commandments, Caxton agrees word for word with A., while in R. each commandment is numbered and given in a fuller form.

The following are a few typical examples of R.'s substitution of words and phrases.

C. strong, A. fort, R. grant. 5. 14.

C. that one by that other, J. lun de lautre, R. tous deux. 8. 6.

C. the ordre, A. lordre, R. lordene. 21. 2.

C. werkman, A. menesterel, R. l'homme. 39. 16.

C. our lord god, which is glorious, A. nostre seigneur glorieux, R. nostre seigneur ihesu crist. 66. 7.

C. in that place where thesquier ought to be adoubed knigt, A. en celui lieu ou lescuier doit estre adoube, R. pour veoir lescuyer adouber cheualier. 66. 12.

C. ony cautels and maystryes, A. aucunes cautelles et maistries, R. honneste subillite. 95. 10.

CAXTON'S ORIGINAL.—Caxton's original was a MS. belonging to the class represented by J. and A. He seems to have wished to condense his translation as much as possible, and he is therefore more concise than J. and the Paris MSS. The MS. that most resembles Caxton is A. Vérart's print is practically identical with A.,¹ but is free from the scribal omissions and errors which mar the latter. The first piece in Vérart's book, “Le Jeu des Eschez Moralise,” by Jean de Vigny, is the original of Caxton's “Game and Play of Chess.” It is quite possible that Caxton used the French translation from the Latin, to which Vérart refers, for his “Ordre of Chyualry.” This, however, is pure conjecture and there can be no certainty about the matter.

¹ For example, on p. 5. 7, A and Vérart have “pommier,” while all the other texts have “arbre.”

Hay's "Buke of Knychthede."

ORIGINALITY OF HAY.—Sir Gilbert Hay's version of the "Order of Chivalry" is by far the most interesting. It is not so much a translation as a free paraphrase and expansion. Besides including much material which is not found in any other of the versions which have been examined, Hay in Chapter 6 gives to many of the knight's arms symbolic interpretations which are quite different from those given in the other versions. This is the more remarkable as the signification of the arms is given without variation in every version from Lull to Caxton and Portunaris.

There can be little doubt that the expansions and variations are the work of Hay's vigorous mind. I have examined five French MSS. in Paris, three in England and three French printed texts, besides the Catalan original and Caxton's translation. None of these contains a single one of the additions and variations found in Hay. If it were possible to examine every extant MS. we should still have to remain ignorant of the contents of those which have perished. This consistent result, however, derived from the examination of more than a dozen versions, warrants the inference that Hay alone is responsible for the passages of which no original can be traced. The vigour and independence of Hay's style and the freedom with which he treats Honoré Bonet's "*Arbre des Batailles*," the source of the first of his translations, strongly support this contention.

There are some slight indications that Hay's original belonged to the group of which R. is the only French representative. Unfortunately the "key" passage, the enumeration of the articles and the commandments, is omitted by Hay. On p. 12. 12, Caxton has the following reading :—

"A syre, blessyd be ye that have brought me in place and in tyme that I have knowlege of Chyualrye."

In Vérart, the squire thus addresses the knight :—

"Ha sire, de dieu benoist soyez vous."

In A. also the squire addresses the knight, beginning "Sire."

This speech to the knight is meaningless, because he had no part in bringing the squire to his dwelling. The speech is really addressed to the "Lord God," as the following readings show :—

P. sire dieu. J. ha sire dieux. Lull, a senyer Deus.

Some scribes retain only "Lord," others only "God." R and

Hay comprise the latter class, for R. has "haa dien," and Hay has the paraphrase:—

"He hevrit up his handis to the hevyn and lovrit (praised) Almychti God."

On p. 94. 2, where R. has the fullest version, Hay closely resembles it, particularly in the opening sentence of the "justice" passage.

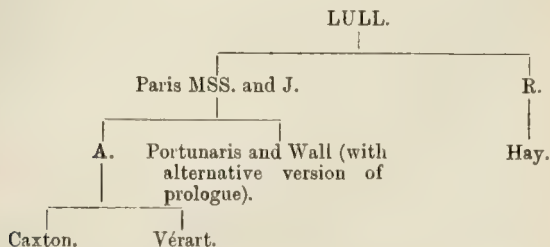
"The quhilk cheritee makis hevry birding lycht to bere, and grete charge soft, bathe for the uphald of honour of knyethede and meryt of the saule behufe.

Item, justice is till all knychtis nedefull, for knycht but justice is but honoure."

(R. Car charite fait le pesant fais legier. Justice est vertu moult appartenante au cheuallier.)

On p. 97. 8, Hay, like R., omits the list of sins and passes straight on to the remarks on gluttony.

The following diagram illustrates the conjectural classification of the various versions.



HAY COMPARED WITH LULL AND CAXTON.—1. *The duties of a knight*.—Lull gives a comprehensive account of the duties of a knight, the virtues that he must practise and the vices that he must avoid.

"For chyualry is not only in the hors ne in the armes, but hit is in the knyght, that wel enduceth and enseyneth his hors, and acustommed hym self and his sone to good enseynements and vertuose werkes." (114. 6).

The three principal objects of a knight's care, as they are detailed in the treatise, are succinctly stated by Sir Gilbert Hay:—

"That is ane, the faith of Jhesus Crist; ane othir, his naturale lord; the third the peple in thair richtis."

Two other objects of a knight's solicitude, his country and his mistress, are scarcely mentioned in the "Ordre." A passing mention of the duty of a knight to aid "his erthely lord and naturel countrey" (32. 16) forms the only reference to patriotism; the

knight's service is always devoted to his lord, not to his king or his country. This is quite a feudal attitude, especially on the Continent; it was not until the might of the barons and the temporal power of the Church were broken that the modern conception of patriotism arose. Remorse for youthful follies led Lull to regard the doctrine of courtly love as the most degrading feature of chivalry, and this fact explains his omission of any allusion to it.

Besides many elaborations, Hay has an interesting passage, which occurs nowhere else, showing that gluttony is the consummation of the seven deadly sins:—

"Off the quhilk sevin synnis, glutany is ane of the werst; forthy, that quhen a glutoun has chargit him our mekle with metis and drinkis than bringis it in suerenesse (sloth), that he mon slepe or rest; and in his rest than desyris he luxure; and quhen he seis that all this charge may nocht be uphaldyn but grete gudis and richesse, than cummys covatise, that settis nocht by how that gude be wonnyn bot he have it. Of the quhilk conquest cummys ire, and invye, and rely murther and slauchter, quhilkis cummys seldyn, bot that pryde be in thair falouschip. And thus throu glutony is gaderit and assemblyt all the foule company of the vii dedely synnis" (Gilbert of the Haye's Prose MS. ed. J. H. Stevenson. Vol. II. p. 54, l. 34 to p. 55, l. 9).

He has also a long discourse on avarice (pp. 57–59), and supplements most vigorously the denunciations on witchcraft and divination in the original.

Like Caxton, Hay charges the knighthood of his own day with decadence; but whereas Caxton confines his reproof to his Epilogue, Hay introduces his comments into his translation. Thus after mentioning the Crusading knights, who fought in the Holy Land, he adds caustically:—"But full few now dois that." He thinks that if oppressing the helpless were part of a knight's duty, more would enter the Order; "for because that the ordre is founded upon lautee, curtaisye, liberalitee, lufe and pitee, many of thame that beris the said ordre irkis tharof in the world that now is" (p. 28, l. 4). Lull himself has some passages in a similar strain:—

"But alle the knyghtes now Iniuryous and prowel, ful of wyckednesse, be not worthy to Chynalrye, but oughten to be reputed for nought" (44. 12).

"The knyghtes Iniuryous and warryours that now ben dysordeyne the ordre of chynalry" (46. 2).

Thus the author and his translators, in their different ages, all look back regretfully to a bygone Golden Age of Chivalry,—the period of the Crusades.

2. *The education of chivalry.*—One of the most interesting and original passages in "The Order of Chivalry" is that in which Lull pleads with much earnestness that squires should receive formal instruction in their duties in schools devoted to the purpose. Hay also dwells upon the point with great emphasis. This distrust of a training derived solely from practical experience is a remarkably modern idea. Lull's scheme was probably very little relished by the knights and squires of his day, and the education which they actually received was undoubtedly better adapted to their needs. Prof. J. W. Adamson has even indicated that mediæval education was in this respect more rational than our own.¹ The mediæval priest confined himself to his books, but the squire, without altogether neglecting the arts, paid most attention to the active pursuits in which it was essential that he should excel.

3. *Chivalry and birth.*—Hay and Caxton made some significant alterations in translating Lull's remarks on the connection between chivalry and aristocracy. Theoretically knighthood was open to all and was conferred purely for merit, but it naturally happened that training and disposition alike practically confined the order to the well-born. While Lull declares that chivalry and noble birth accord well, he does not fail to add that "elle puist auoir en cheuallerie aucun homme de nouuel lignage, honnourable et gentil." With this exception, Lull's view of knighthood is purely aristocratic. It is implicitly assumed that the lower orders are immeasurably inferior to the knights and incapable of worthy motives or sentiments. While the common people till his fields, the knight occupies himself with sport and "thynges of whiche his men haue payne and trauayl." The only motive which induces the labourers to work on the land is "fere lest they shold be destroyed" by the knights.

Sir Gilbert Hay's humane and rational outlook is nowhere more evident than in the modifications which he introduced into such

¹ "The men of the Middle Ages did not think that the only type of intelligence or capacity worth educating was that of the clerk. . . . [The] underlying principle [of mediæval education] has not even yet been fully applied to public instruction, although modern conditions demand such an application. That principle is, in brief, that education should foster all sorts of capacity, not one only, however exceptional its occurrence among men and women."—"Short History of Education," p. 49.

passages as these. He points out that while his serfs are working for him, it is the knight's duty.

"to governe and kepe passibly the labouraris, and sauf thame fra fors and wrang, sa that clerkis mycht pesably study in sciencis, men of kirk vake in Goddis service, merchandis in thair merchandice, and othir craftis wirkand at lordis devis." (p. 15, l. 18).

A poor knight may be assisted by his lord, and the investing prince or lord should give the knight not merely ceremonial gifts, but substantial grants of land to support his new dignity. The order of knighthood is democratic; it is as noble and worthy of honour in the poorest knight as in the Emperor himself.

Caxton stresses the aristocratic conception even more than Lull. An ardent lover of chivalry, he insists that it is the preserve of a privileged class. "[This] book is not requysyte to every comyn man to haue, but to noble gentyhmen that by their vertu entende to come & entre in to the noble ordre of chynalry."¹ At one point in this connection he makes a most significant departure from his original. He enforces the argument that noble birth, not good looks, is essential to chivalry by adding that if this were not so women might be dubbed knights; then at the end of the same passage he omits Lull's single concession, quoted above, and substitutes the statement that chivalry is "moche more syttinge to a gentyl herte replenysshed wyth al vertues than in a man vyle and of euyl lyf." The train of argument in this passage² almost compels us to interpret "gentyl" and "vyle" as "well-born" and "lowly born" respectively.

4. *The ordination of a knight.*—In Chapter 5, Ramon Lull describes the method of investiture which was most common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It was a combination of religious and secular ceremonies. Vigil and confession are enjoined, but there is no mention of the bath. At a solemn mass on a great festival the squire makes an oath³ before the priest, devoting himself to the service of God and chivalry. He offers his armour at the altar and listens to a sermon. The actual investiture is performed not by the

¹ 121. 6. Similarly Caxton dedicates the "Morte Darthur" to "all noble princes, lords and ladies, gentlemen or gentlewomen."

² 57. 10 to 59. 13.

³ Hay alone quotes the oath:—"In the name of thee, and in entencioun to serve thee, and honour thee, my soverane lord God, and thy dere moder Mary, and all thy holy sanctis of paradise I tak this day this worthy ordre" (p. 41 l. 15),

priest, but by a knight, who girds him with a sword, kisses him and hands him a palm. The omission of all mention of the "colée" is noteworthy. Although it is frequently mentioned after about 1180, this blow with the hand or sword, from which was derived the single act of modern investiture, was not considered essential during the age of chivalry. Sir Gilbert Hay adds,

"a strake with his hand, or with a drawin suerd, in the nek,"

to his version of Lull, and also remarks that the investing knight and the new knight, instead of kissing each other, may kiss the hilt of the sword, which is placed in the scabbard with suitable words of exhortation. Even the account of the "Makyng of knyghte of the Bathe,"¹ which describes the ceremonies observed at the Coronation of Henry VI in 1429, does not mention the "colée," although the rite has become very elaborate. The main features are the same as in Lull's account, with the addition of the ceremonial bath and the arraying of the knight. The right of conferring knighthood, which in Lull's time belonged to any knight,² was by this time invested in the king alone, who girded on the sword, while two knights fastened the spurs.

5. *The symbolism of chivalry.*—The ceremony of ordination indicates the intimate connection between chivalry and the Church. In the Crusades the knight was, indeed, the representative of the Church Militant against heathenness. Lull's favourite theme in "The Order of Chivalry" is that

"the offyce of presthode and of Chyualrye have grete concordance."³

As the order of knighthood is second only to that of the clergy, kings and barons ought to honour knights greatly,⁴ and choose their provosts and bailiffs from the ranks of knights alone;⁵ it is only the lack of special knowledge that prevents knights from being judges.⁶ Between no orders should there be more perfect accord than between knights and clergy,⁷ who both endeavour, the one by doctrine and the other by force of arms, to incline the people to a godly life.⁸ In the latter days of chivalry, the parallel was drawn so far that an

¹ See Appendix, p. 126.

² Hay has an original form in which he several times expresses this right. No man, he says, *except the Pope*, may make a knight unless he is a knight himself.

³ 76. 7.

⁴ 116. 1.

⁵ 29. 1.

⁶ 30. 9.

⁷ 26. 7. There was much jealousy between the orders, however, especially in times of peace.

⁸ 20. 14.

elaborate symbolism was attached to the arms of a knight, corresponding to the long-established symbolical interpretation of a priest's vestments.

In Chapter 6 Lull has a detailed account of this. It is translated literally in all the versions except that of Sir Gilbert Hay, whose variations are shown in the following comparison with Caxton.

1. **THE SWORD.** *Caxton*.—Being shaped like a cross it signifies that a knight vanquishes the enemies of God as Christ on the Cross vanquished "the dethe of humayne lignage." The two edges signify Chivalry and Justice.

Hay.—As in Caxton, except that the two edges mean that a knight should defend temporality and spirituality.

2. **THE SPEAR.** *C. and Hay*.—Truth; the iron tip—strength to overcome falsehood. The pennon shows that truth is not afraid to be seen.

3. **THE HELMET.** *C. and Hay*.—Dread of shame.

4. **THE HAUBERGEON.** *C.*—The tightly closed haubergeon is like a fortress against vice.

Hay.—It resembles a fortress, because it is made of many pieces of mail just as a fortress is made of many stones joined together. The fortress is also identified with the Order of Chivalry, which consists of many members. As a fortress defends a knight against his foes, so his Order defends him against vice.

5. **LEG HARNESS.** *C.*—A knight's duty is to defend the highways and to punishment malefactors.

Hay adds that the leg-harness warns him to be careful of his safety, and to "do seathe and tak nane."

6. **THE SPURS.** *C.*—Swiftness, and diligence in providing necessary equipment.

Hay.—Expedition in helping king and country in time of need.

7. **THE GORGET.** *C.*—Obedience.

Hay adds that the gorget signifies that no evil words should issue from the knight's mouth and that he should not be gluttonous.

Hay alone mentions *the whip*, typifying obedience.

8. **THE MACE OR POLE-AXE.** *C.*—Strength of courage, to beat down all vices.

Hay mentions this weapon twice, once after the leg-harness and again here.

(1) The first time it means that its owner is an officer of the king, entitled to "lay that maisse on thame" if any disobey him.

(2) The second time it is compared with a "false sterap," which strikes on all sides. So a knight should beat down all vices and enforce virtue.

Hay evidently intends to designate two separate weapons by the "maisse, that is to say poll ax," and the "masse," but the French versions and Caxton only particularise one, with the signification of the second in *Hay*. They do not mention the "false sterap." The N.E.D. defines this as "the mace carried by a knight," and quotes no other example. It is supposed that the name is derived from the fact that it hung down from the saddle when the knight was on horseback.

9. THE DAGGER. *C. and Hay*.—Trust in God.

10. THE SHIELD. *C.*—The office of knighthood. A knight should stand as mediator between prince and people, and should defend his lord with his body in time of peril.

Hay adds that as the shield is "couplit to the knyghtis brest," so the knight should be bound to his lord in loyalty.

11. THE GAUNTLETS. *C. and Hay*.—The knight should raise his hands to thank God, but not to make a false oath nor to touch evil.

12. THE SADDLE. *C.*—The firmness of the saddle typifies sure courage; its size, the great charge and burden of chivalry.

Hay omits the second idea.

13. THE HORSE. *C.*—As the knight is mounted high, so he should have higher ideals than other men.

Hay adds that as the knight is a heavy burden to the horse, so is chivalry to the knight.

The remaining articles have the same significance in both versions: the bridle and reins typifying restraint; the "testier," or horse's head-stall, reason; the harness, the need for temporal goods; and the coat, the knight's function as protector of the weak.

§3. CAXTON'S METHOD AND STYLE AS A TRANSLATOR.

The merits of Caxton as a translator have been variously estimated by the editors of his chief works. The most disparaging opinion is that given by Dr. H. Oskar Sommer in his monumental edition (1894) of "The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye" which was first printed in 1474.

"The language of the first English printed book is, to say the

least of it, very peculiar owing to the facts that Caxton's 'rude englissh' had probably become somewhat rusty during his long absence abroad, and that his knowledge of French must have been rather superficial. It is therefore not wonderful when William Fiston, who corrected the text for Th. Creede's edition (1607), doubted Caxton's being an Englishman. The peculiarities of the language . . . are of three kinds:

- (1) Mistakes and blunders of the most trivial sort in the translation.
- (2) Words adopted from the French, either in their original forms or corrupted, such as one would look for in vain in any other English text.
- (3) The use of two words, either absolutely or nearly synonymous, in expressing the same thing."

(Vol. II. p. 801.)

Of Caxton's next translation, "The Game and Playe of the Chesse," which was printed about 1476, Mr. W. E. A. Axon¹ remarks:—

"Generally he is content to follow his author with almost plodding fidelity, but occasionally he makes additions which are eminently characteristic."

Dr. O. H. Prior² found only ten errors in translation in the "Mirroure of the World," which Caxton translated in 1480.

Miss Colvin³ writes as follows concerning "Godeffroy of Bolyne," which was printed in 1481:—

"His translation is almost a literal one. He turns many of his French constructions into English without any attempt at Anglicising them, even transferring a French word bodily when he does not readily find its English equivalent. On the whole he understands his French, although there are incorrect readings here and there, owing more to hasty reading, it seems, than to actual ignorance."

In his edition of "The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry,"⁴ Thomas Wright notes that Caxton's version is so literal that "it would be easy to identify the particular MS. which Caxton followed,

¹ "The Game and Playe of the Chesse," ed. W. Axon, 1883, p. xxxiv.

² E.E.T.S., 1913, p. vii.

³ E.E.T.S., 1893, p. viii.

⁴ E.E.T.S., 1868, revised 1906, p. xvi. The version printed by Wright is taken from an English translation (Harl. MS. 1764) much earlier than Caxton who was apparently unacquainted with it.

if it were in existence." This might also be said of "The Ordre of Chynalry." Mr. G. V. O'Neill¹ remarks that there are few errors in translation in "The Golden Legend." These three books were all printed in or about 1484.

Dr. Leon Kellner, in his masterly introduction to "Blanchardyn and Eglantine," which was printed by Caxton c. 1489, objects to the statement that "Caxton shows himself piously literal," made by Miss O. Richardson in her introduction to "The Four Sons of Aymon"² (first printed c. 1489).

"On the other hand I contend that he was as good and free a translator as any of the fifteenth century, and in his style not inferior to Peacock, the greatest prosaist of his time."³

Dr. Kellner thoroughly examined Caxton's syntax and order of words and found them essentially English. He points out that his repetitions, tautologies and anacolutha are "conscious sins, committed not only by him, but also by all the writers of his time."⁴

The first authority quoted above describes Caxton as a man with a most imperfect command of both French and English; the last classes him with Peacock, the greatest prosaist of his time. Both are mainly right, as are all the other editors, because each bases his opinion on the particular work before him. The quotations given above are arranged according to the order in which the books with which they deal issued from Caxton's press, and they illustrate very well the stages in his improvement in the art of translation, a subject which has not received hitherto the attention that it merits. The first point to notice is the amazing inferiority of the "Recuyell of the

¹ "The Golden Legend," ed. G. V. O'Neill, 1914, p. 7.

² E.E.T.S., 1885, p. vii.

³ E.E.T.S., 1890, p. cxi.

Caxton's constant transgressions against the unity of the sentence form the most noticeable blemish in his style. They are classified, with copious examples, by Dr. Kellner on pp. cxiv to cxvi of his introduction. Sudden transitions from one construction to another are equally frequent in the "Ordre of Chynalry." In the following passage (68. 22) the French infinitive is represented by a different English construction at each occurrence.

Cax. Chastyte and strengthe . . . surmounte hit, *by remembrance* of his commandementys and *for to remember* and *wel to vnderstonde* the goodes and glory that god gyueth to them . . . and *by wel to loue* god.

MS. R. Chastete guerroye et surmonte luxure *par remembrer* dieu et ses commandemens *et par bien entendre* les biens et la gloire que dieu donne a ceulx . . . et *par bien amer* dieu.

It is mainly this fault, common to all prose writers of Caxton's time, that makes fifteenth-century English prose compare so unfavourably with mediæval French prose, the structure of which is as logical and correct as that of French prose of to-day.

Historyes of Troye" to all the later books. The structure of the sentences is utterly foreign to the English idiom, and bizarre words and mistranslations abound. Yet, a few years later, *c.* 1476, Caxton not only wrote a very creditable translation of "*Le Jeu des Eschez*" ("The Game and Play of Chess"), but added one or two passages of considerable merit, dealing with legal abuses and the degeneracy of the times. The following passages, taken quite at random from the "*Recuyell*" and "*The Game and Play*," show the marked improvement:—

"*Recuyell*" (Sommers' ed., p. 419).

"The casteliens had well wende to haue wonne all. And began to make loye for their good fortune in escryying (Fr. *écrier* = to cry out) the grekes to the deth. But euen in like wyse as a right clere day is otherwhile troblid by an auenturous blacke clowde, semblably by the allonli comyng of hercules that cam than to the rescousse, all her (= their) loye was troblid."

"*Game and Play*" (Axon's ed., p. 47).

"Than the kyng demanded his counceyll of what deth they had deseruyd to dye that had so doon and wrought agayn the wylle of hym. Some sayd that they shold ben honged, and some sayd they shold ben slayn. And other sayd that they shold be beleehid. Than sayd the kyng, By the lord that made me, they ben not worthy to dye, but for to haue moche worship and honour. For they haue ben trewe to theyr lord."

"The *Recuyell*" was translated some years before it was printed. It was begun in 1469, but Caxton, dissatisfied with his work, abandoned it after writing about fifty pages. In 1471 he received from the Duchess of Burgundy the "dreadful command" to finish it, and the translation was completed by September of that year. Caxton's Preface shows that he was quite aware of his deficiencies, as was also the Duchess, who "*fonde a defeaute in myn englissh whiche sche comanded me to amend.*" He seems to have obeyed her request, and in a few years, by his customary diligence, he developed an adequate prose style.

The three peculiarities noticed by Dr. Sommer are characteristic of all Caxton's work, but the first two—mistranslation, and the transplanting of French words into English—tended to decrease as he became more and more proficient in the English idiom. The use of two words instead of one persisted because, as Dr. Kellner says, "his whole age was affected by this fashion of intolerable verbosity: to

convey an idea through the medium of as many words as possible was considered as a beauty of style."¹

All his work after the "Recuyell" shows him to have been a sound French scholar. In books such as the "Ordre of Chyualry" errors in translation are usually due to hasty reading. In his last years Caxton translated an immense amount of literature, and cannot have been able to bestow fastidious care upon it.

All his translations keep very close to their original. Although, as the following examination of "The Ordre of Chyualry" will show, he occasionally departs a very little way from his MS., he cannot be called a free translator, such as Sir Gilbert Hay. Most of his editors have realised that his faithfulness to his original is a merit rather than a defect; it has not always been realised that it is a merit because he is just free enough to enable him to express the French sentences in an English way.

A detailed study of Caxton's treatment of the French "Ordre de Cheualerie" confirms and illustrates the conclusions stated above, and provides a typical example of his translation at the time of his greatest activity.

SYNONYMS.—The following are a few examples of the use of two synonymous terms instead of a single expression. Instances abound on every page.

E.g. a tree wel laden and charged of fruyte (A. un arbre chargie de fruit), 5. 5; arowseed and moysted (J. arrousoit), 5. 8; regard or countenance (R. regard), 7. 12; what is your corage or entent, 8. 10; saye and telle to me, 11. 6; yf hit please yow to enseygne shewe and teche hit me (A. sil vous plaist a la moy aprendre), 11. 10; I rede and am besy (A. ie lis), 11. 13; better enseygned and manerd (A. mieux enseigne), 15. 8; serf or bonde man, 19. 10; indigne and not worthy, 19. 12; they follow and ensyewe (A. suyuent), 20. 14; his lord worldly or terryen (A. terrien), 29. 12; stele or take away (A. emble), 50. 10; to make and adoube a knyzt (A. faire), 66. 9; the thre ben theologale or deuyne (A. theologiques), 90. 8; the wytte and good prudence (A. sens), 96. 12; and to suche thynges thynketh and gyueth affyaunce (A. et en ce a fiance), 110. 15.

The usage is found with adjectives, nouns and verbs alike.

¹ The fashion was not new in Caxton's time. In Bede's "Ecclesiastical History" the Latin "conclusit" is translated by "betȳnde and geendode" and "decessus" by "gowitenesse and forðfore." (Account of the poet Cædmon.)

Usually the first word is the French of the original, and the second, connected by *and* or *or*, is the English translation. Caxton shows that he knows the corresponding English word, but chooses also to retain the French. This leads one to conjecture whether the fantastic forms in the "*Recuyell*" may not be due almost as much to caprice as to ignorance.

Frequently, however, both words are English, and are either exactly or nearly synonymous.

It should be noticed that sometimes the tautology is present in the original.¹

E.g. the lord of the vyneyerd gaf as moche sallary and wages (A. *sallaire et loier*), 103. 15.

OMISSIONS.—Quite frequently Caxton has only one expression in the place of two in the original.

E.g. the knyght sayd these wordes (A. *le cheualier disoit ces parolles et reprenoit*), 11. 1; he is the lasse enclyned to doo a vylaynous fait or dede (R. *il se encline moins et plus a tard a tricherie mauuaistie et a vilains fais*), 29. 9; to kepe them fro vyolence (R. *de iniure et de violence*), 30. 9; custom (A. *la coustume et usage*), 31. 8; dyffeated (A. *deffait ne destruit*), 33. 10; mercy (A. *pitie et misericorde*), 40. 4; a flaterer (R. *blandisseur ou flateur*), 64. 15; serue (A. *serue et honneure*), 66. 7; amytye (A. *amitie et compaignie*), 118. 4.

Other examples of phrases and words omitted by Caxton occur at 5. 9, 6. 3, 19. 13, 28. 5,² 35. 2.

Several longer passages are omitted by Caxton. One of these emphasises the point that a judge must be a learned man (p. 31), another pleads for the punishment of licentious knights (p. 43).

Caxton also omits (p. 54) the reference to a knight who gambles away his horse and armour, which occurs in all the MSS. and in Hay. Corresponding to Caxton's "Thou mayst not haue soo moche power that thou make a knyght a man of vyle courage" (59. 3), the MSS. have a lengthy passage, arguing that since no one has the power to cast a good knight out of chivalry, so no one should have the power to bring a wicked knight into it.

ADDITIONS —Dr. Kellner says that in "*Blanchardyn and Eglantine*" there are very few passages in which Caxton is less verbose than

¹ It has been noted on p. xxxii, that an increase in the number of these tautologies is a peculiarity of Bibl. Nat. MS. 19810.

² Here MSS. have "*cheualiers dung escu*" (C. *knyghtes*); cf. Hay's mention of "*Knights of a Shield*."

his original, but that he frequently makes additions, "for which there is not the slightest necessity whatever." There are very few such additions in the "Ordre."

E.g. By the penaunce that he *dayly* made, 7. 10; This lytyl booke that I hold *here in myn handes*, 11. 12; an old man *and feble*, 13. 1; but loueth only *them that ben full of noblesse* of courage, 47. 11; garnementes of yron *for to take the malefactours and to punyshe them*, 79. 7; To his hors is giuen *in his hede* a testier, 85. 15.

The reference to women knights (58. 3), and the significant substitution for Lull's democratic concession (59. 10),¹ seem to be Caxton's only original additions to the thought of the treatise.

VARIATIONS.—In a few places, by accident or intention, Caxton substitutes another word, of different meaning, for that of the MS.

E.g. ne haue not the herte ne myzt (for *myzt* MSS read *pensee* = thought), 40. 11; that shold be pyte (MSS. *pechie* = sin), 52. 10; ne may not be defended fro euylle peryls (MSS. *pensees*), 86. 15.

Dr. Kellner's assertion that "there is no ground whatever for supposing that he slavishly sacrificed the genius of his native language to Latin or French" is most strongly supported by the fairly numerous passages in which Caxton departs from the method of expression of the original. Usually the thought contained in the passage remains unchanged, but sometimes that also is modified;² cf. 7. 9, 10. 7, 18. 3, 39. 13, 40. 12, 53. 12, 109. 3.

GALLICISMS.—Caxton's style is occasionally impaired by literal renderings of the French.

E.g. *suche a squyer is a foole and al other semblably* (A. *tous autres semblablement*), 73. 17; *syxe tymes more than were the hys* (A. *les siens*); *is slowe to gete the goodes aboute seyde* (A. *les biens = the benefits*), 96. 7.

INCORRECT AND AWKWARD RENDERINGS.—There are very few passages in which Caxton has altogether misunderstood his original, but those in which he gives a clumsy or careless rendering are numerous.

E.g. 13. 9. C. *Lete me haue knowlege who they be that haue ben maade newe knyghtes, and shalle haue ben obeyssaunt to the doctryne of chyualrye.*

¹ See Introduction, p. xxxix.

² Cf. 114. 6. Caxton substitutes "chyualry is *not only* in the hors" for MSS. "not at all" (*nest mie*).

Caxton has altered the sense by omitting the negative in the second half of the sentence. The hermit wishes to know how many candidates, like the squire, were about to receive knighthood without understanding its responsibilities.

A. me sachie; a dire leque; seront fai; cheualiers et ne auront este obeissans a la doctrine de cheualerie.

25. 9. C. that hath no feythe. A. qui a foy.

The inclusion of the negative here makes the argument unintelligible.

26. 3. C. Many there ben that haue offyces whiche god hath gyuen to them in this world, to thende that of *hym* he shold be serued.

R. Pluseurs ont les offices que dieu a donne; en ce monde ad fin que *d'homme* soit seruy.

31. 1. C. For he that by justyce may best be holden.

R. Car celui par quy iustice peut mieul; estre tenue.

33. 14. C. by cause. A. pour ce.

The sense requires "therefore."

37. 9. C. of a strong courage and of noble *apparence*.

A. . . . esperance.

42. 1. C. Yf thenne they entende to destroye Castellys, Cytees and Townes, Brenne howses, Hewe doune trees, slee beestes and robbe in the hye wayes were the offyce of chyualrye.

Caxton has forgotten how he began the sentence.

46. 2. C. The knyghtes Iniuryous and warryours that now ben mayntene and dysordeyne the ordre of chyualry.

J. Et se les cheualiers iniurieus et guerrieus qui orendroit sont ne maintiennent lordre ne loffice de cheualerie, qui sont ceulx qui les maintendront? Ne quans se tous sont tel;.

52. 12. C. And yf to gyue apperteyned to ony other offyce, *how wel that a man shold haue* that he shold mayntene thoffyce for to gyue.

A. . . . *combien de valeur auroit homme* qui mantendrait office de donner.

Caxton misunderstands the exclamation.

60. 3. C. For it better agreeth to the soule than to the body. Noblesse of courage apperteyneth to Chyualry.

The second sentence has no force in this position. Caxton's error is explained by the MS. :—

CHYUALRY.

d

A. Car meul³ se commet a lame que au corps noblesse de courage
quy affiert a cheualerie.

87. 14. C. Thenne as it so ryght grete & large chyualrye.

A. Doncque comme il soit ainssi, tresgrande est la charge de
cheualerie.

88. 3. C. . . . that he be *allowed*. A. . . . loue (praised).

91. 3. C. Knyghtes *ben* acustōmed. A. cheualiers *bien*
accoustumes.

106. 1. C. suche fayte is force. A. tel fait force.

116. 8. C. And to the franchyse & seynorye of the kyng or of
the prynce *accorden to* the knyghtes.

A. . . . *se concordent*.

§ 4. PRINCIPLES OF EDITING.

* A. *The Ordre of Chyualry.*

Only obvious misprints have been corrected; and attention is
called to these by foot-notes.

B. *The French MSS.*

The principal French MSS. collated are R., A. and J.

Om. = not found in any French MS.

J. Om. = not found in J., but found in the others.

When a passage quoted is contained in all MSS., no letter is
placed against it.

The collation is sufficiently full to indicate all the chief places at
which the MSS. vary from each other and from Caxton.

C. *Loutfut's Transcript.*

Loutfut's contractions present few serious difficulties. The well-
defined curl after final *r* is interpreted as *r*. A similar curl after *c* in
"offyce" is found at 78. 9 and in the margin on p. 75. An in-
definite stroke is often found after final *d*. This is disregarded, as
its consistent interpretation as *e* would cause an unsightly accumu-
lation of unhistorical final *e*'s, in such forms as *gode* (= God, nom.
sing.) and *deuysede* (past part.). Some strokes, especially above *m*
or *n*, are only scribal flourishes and are disregarded.

The contraction for the plural inflexion of nouns and the pres.
ind. sing. of verbs is expanded as the Scottish *-is*.

The upward stroke as in "terrestre" is interpreted as *er*. In
some cases, especially in a final position, it may stand for *ir*, as in

"hider" or "hiddir." For the sake of consistency, only two exceptions are made to the general rule—"eftir" and "opir"—, since these are the spellings which occur invariably in the former case, generally in the latter, when the words are spelt in full. "opir" is nearly always contracted.

The indefinite article is often written as capital A in the middle of a sentence. No good reason for retaining this eccentricity was apparent.

§ 5. THE DIALECT OF LOUTFUT'S TRANSCRIPT.

Adam Loutfut's transcript of "The Ordre of Chyualry," made in 1494, is interesting because it both supplements the scanty remnants of Scottish prose before 1500¹ and provides a good specimen of the Transition Period from Early to Middle Scots. The scribe followed Caxton faithfully word for word, including the Epilogue, but he altered the orthography and inflexions as he proceeded. As his copy is only ten years later than Caxton's print, an examination of these alterations reveals the points of divergence between English and Scots at the end of the fifteenth century.

In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to show what features of Early Scots are retained in the MS., and to what extent Middle Scots characteristics prevail. A strong Southern influence is apparent throughout, especially in the inflexions, for Loutfut did not always trouble to alter these to the Scottish forms. The vocabulary naturally contains few native Scottish words.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

(a) Vowels.

1. Long vowels with an added *i* or *y*.

This is one of the most salient features of Mid. Sc. The phonological aspect of the change is discussed in Morsbach's "Mittelenglische Grammatik," pp. 190-2, Luick's "Historische

¹ "The earliest extant dated Scots prose which is not either a legal document, a law or a letter," is Mr. J. H. Stevenson's description of Sir Gilbert Hay's Prose MS. (1456). Legal documents of the latter half of the fourteenth century are extant, while the letters to Henry IV. by the Earl of March (1400) and by James of Douglas (1405) are excellent examples of vernacular Scots. The earliest extant original prose work in Scots is Joha of Ireland's treatise on the Christian faith (1490). To the same period belong "The Craft of Deyng," of which Sir J. Murray says, "In language it belongs to the Early Period, but has its spelling modified by the scribe of 1490," and some minor pieces. "The Spectacle of Luf" was written in 1492, but the unique MS. dates from c. 1515.

Grammatik der Englischen Sprache," pp. 482-5, and Prof. Gregory Smith's "Specimens of Middle Scots," p. xix. In Mid. Sc. it is merely an orthographical convention and does not indicate a change in pronunciation. There is little more than a trace of it in Hay, after long *a* only, e.g. *maid* (= made), *maist* (= most). It does not occur in Wyntoun's extracts from "The Bruce" (c. 1440), but it is regular after *a* and *e* in Ramsay's transcript (1489), cf.

"Qwhen Alysandyre our kyng was *dede*,
That Scotland *had* to *stere* and *lede*." (Wyntoun.)
"Quhen Alexander the king was *deid*,
That Scotland *haid* to *steyr* and *leid*." (Ramsay)

In Dunbar and his contemporaries the principle was extended to *y*, *o* and *u*.

Loutfut has examples of the orthographical *i* after every long vowel except *y*, *i* (cf. *fyir* in Henryson's "Cock and the Jewel," *lyik* in "The Complaynt of Scotland"—Gregory Smith's "Specimens," 6. 7, 138. 5). He adds *i* most frequently after *e*, but less regularly than Ramsay in "The Bruce." With regard to the other vowels, he shows that he is aware of the growing practice, but adopts it only sporadically.

- ai, ay. chairgit (C. charged), 5. 5.
maid (C. made), 2. 11.
compair (C. compare), 113. 13.
- ei, ey. weil (C. wel), 5. 5.
cleir (C. clere), 5. 7.
reid (C. rede = read), 7. 1.
keip (C. kepe), 10. 3.
seym (C. seme), 27. 8.
beyn (C. ben), 46. 2.
cheifs (C. chese = choose), 58. 4.
scheild (C. shelde), 82. 1.
neid (C. nede), 93. 13.
- oi. choissin (C. chosen), 12. 7.
gloire (C. glorye), 1. 4.
forthermoir (C. furthermore), 14. 3.
oith (C. othe = oath), 83. 1.
- ui. tuiching (C. touching),¹ 31. 10.

¹ See Note on *u*, *v*, *w*, p. lxi.

Note. The *i* in *hair* (C. heer = hair), 7. 6, is almost certainly orthographical. The modern spelling is due to assimilation with Fr. *haire* (= hair-shirt), and the earliest reference in N.E.D. to its occurrence in English is Pettie's "Guazzo's Civ. Conv. II." (1581). In M.E. the form is *heer* or *here*, becoming *heure* in the sixteenth century, cf. "Fairy Queen," IV. viii. 4 (1596). This is derived regularly from O.E. *hær*, Ang. *hēr*. In Early Sc. the form is *hare* or *hore*, from O.N. *hār*. The addition of orthographical *i* gives Loutfut's form, which is common in Scots from an early period cf. "Scots Legends of Saints" (1375)—"Hayre scho had, quhyt and streke," Dunbar's "Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo" (1508)—"Kemmit was thair cleir hair."

2. Initial *a* and *e* omitted.

Aphetic forms are very common in Mid. Sc., but in Loutfut there are only one or two isolated examples and in each case the aphetised form is found quite frequently in English of the same period.

greable (C. agreeable), 110. 1. pertenyis (C. apperteyne), 3. 2
stablissshed (C. establysshed), 113. 3.

3. *a*, *ai* for *e* in unstressed syllables.

Loutfut has many examples of this Mid. Sc. usage.

astrauunge (C. estraunge), 8. 14. amang (C. emong), 15. 12.
astabliessed (C. establysshed), 27. 9. natural (C. naturell),
33. 1. grettast (C. grettest), 39. 1. thair (C. there), 54. 11.

Final *er* is regularly written *ar*.

grettar (C. gretter = greater), 18. 4. murtherar (C. murderer), 71. 11. laboraris, 41 (margin). offsaris, 76 (margin). rubbaris, 42 (margin).

Note 1. The common form *war*, 41 (margin), is either due to analogy with forms like *grettar*, in which *ar* is written for *er*, or it is derived from O.N. *vāru* (= O.E. *wæron*).

Note 2. Several words in which Loutfut has *a*, Caxton *e*, cannot be included under a general heading.

pan (C. thenne), 4. 6, from O.E. *panne*.

amang, 15. 12, from O.E. *onmang*, C. *emong* from O.E. *gemang*.

paim, 19. 1 (C. them), from O.N. *paim*.

4. O.E. and O.Fr. *e* > Sc. *i* in unstressed syllables.

Forms like *dispising*, *inymyes* occur in Hay, while *i*, *y* for *e* are found in "Bruce" frequently in root syllables (cf. *stryth*, V. 224 et passim) and regularly in final syllables (cf. *vyntir*, *blastis*, *burgeonys*).

dispifs (C. despyse), 6. 13. othir (C. other), 8. 5. ordinans (C. ordenaunce), 10. 4. noblis (C. noblesse), 17. 3.

febilnes (C. feblennesse), 4. 10. nobil (C. noble), 8. 12. pepill (C. peple), 17. 6.

Note. Examples of *i* for *e* in stressed syllables cannot be brought under a general law.

besich (C. byseche), 11. 4, probably shows the beginning of a change of *ē* (O.E. *ē*) to *ī*. (See Wyld's "Colloquial English," p. 67).

nyglis (C. Englyssh), is an example of the change of *e* to *i* in Mid. Sc. before a palatal nasal.

blissid, 12. 10 from O.E. *blīpsian*, *blissian* = to make happy, C. *blessyd* from O.E. *bletsian*, *blessian* = to bless.

5. Late O.E. *eo* + *r* + cons. > Sc. *a*.

warldle (C. worldly), 1. 5, O.E. *weor(o)ld*. arthely (C. erthely), 1. 9, O.E. *eorpe*. hartis (C. hertes = harts), 31. 4. O.E. *heor(u)t*.

6. Long *e*.

The symbol *ea* was just being introduced into English to represent long open *e*, and examples are found sporadically in Caxton. Sometimes Loutfut copies *ea*, as in *defeateth*, 34. 1, *ease*, 123. 10, *displease*, 123. 11; but generally he writes *e* or *ei* whether Caxton's spelling is *ea* or *ee*.

plefs, 20. 4, pleifs, 11. 8 (C. please). resons (C. reasons), 25. 2. disesid (C. dyseased), 93. 6. beistis (C. beestes), 15. 13. peice (C. pees = peace), 45. 13. best (C. beast), 16. 3. theif (C. theef), 49. 7. scheip (C. sheep), 53. 6.

Note. In *defayted* (C. dyffeated), 33. 10, Loutfut's spelling represents the normal Mid. Sc. development of Fr. *ai*.

7. Final *e*.

As a suffix with grammatical force, it disappeared much earlier in Scots than in English, and therefore tended to disappear from the spelling also.

faill, 81. 6; smyt, 81. 7; fors (C. force), 81. 9; wifs, 84. 3; lik, 87. 5; gard, 87. 13; gret, 87. 15, etc.

Note 1. In *charit* (C. charyte), 17. 7, and *suret* (C. surete), 83. 6, Loutfut mechanically drops the *e* when it is vocal. These cases are not parallel with the common M.E. *powert* (= poverty), which was a recognised variant, no examples of *charit* or *suret* are noted in N.E.D.

Note 2. Occasionally Loutfut adds final or medial unstressed *e* when there is none in Caxton.

buke (C. book), 7. 1. pensife (C. pensyf), 9. 10. onely (C. only), 12. 6. life (C: lyf), 70. 11.

8. *i* and *y* are used interchangeably in both Cax. and MS., but *y* predominates in the former, *i* in the latter.

Sir J. Murray has the following note on *i* in Mid. Sc.¹ :—

"The short *i* (*y*) has apparently assumed the opener sound it has in Modern Scotch (like *e* in Eng. *yet*), and hence (1) is often lost from original diphthongs, as in *agane*, *jone* for *agayn*, *join*; (2) is added to other vowels merely to indicate their length; (3) is often replaced by *e*, as in *levis*, *gevand*, *revare*, *preckand* = *lives*, *giving*, *river*, *pricking*."

(a) The loss of *i* from original diphthongs, chiefly French, is illustrated by the following examples :—

(1) In stressed syllables.

O. Fr. *ai*. manteinyd (C. mayntened), 3. 15.

falȝed (C. faylled), 4. 4.

tratour (C. traitour), 48. 13.

fant (C. faint), 56. 14.

falleith (C. failleith), 62. 1.

O. Fr. *ei*. resaving (C. receyuyng), 48. 7.

vencust (C. vaynquysshed), 35. 13.

O.N. *ei*. rassit (C. reysed), 70. 10.

M.E. *ai* (<O.E. *æg*). ma (C. may), 27. 15.

mast (C. mayst), 38. 10.

(2) In unstressed syllables.

O. Fr. *ai*. fontan (C. fontayne), 5. 7.

O. Fr. *ei*. mervelid (C. merueylled), 7. 11.

sudanly (C. sodenly), 79. 16.

covatoufs (C. coueytous), 53. 8.

ordanyng¹ (C. ordeynynge), 1. 9.

M.E. *ai* from O.Fr. *ei* was reduced in Mid. Sc. by lack of stress to *a* or *e*. In Early Mod. Eng. the diphthong either was reduced to *e*—(Caxton writes *ordened* in "The Four Sons of Aymon," xxiv. 511)—or was written *ey*.

¹ "Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland," p. 93**.

² In Mid. Sc. the stress in *ordanyng* is commonly on the first syllable; cf. "For érd til érd is órdanit áy."—"Specs. of Mid. Sc.," p. 11, l. 4 ("The World is Very Vanity"). "Scho órdand éik þat évery bird and beist."—"Specs.," p. 30, l. 8 (Dunbar's "The Thistle and the Rose").

Note 1. In *pertenys* (C. apperteyne), 3. 2, and *sustenyd* (C. *susteyned*), 6. 6, Loutfut's form is from the Fr. infinitive stem, while Caxton's is from the subjunctive stem which gives the modern Eng. form. In Loutfut's regular spelling *mantein(e)* (C. mayntene), 24. 10, 25. 1, the reverse seems to be the case, but *i* is probably orthographical.

Note 2. Sometimes Loutfut gives an alternative form of the original Fr. diphthong.

traueill (C. trauaylle), 9. 1. vyleyne (C. vylayne), 58. 7.
saint (C. seynt), 70. 3. tourneys, 22. 12; tournays, 4. 1 (C. tornoyes).

(b) The following are examples from Loutfut of an original short *i* becoming *e* in Mid. Scots, especially when preceded or followed by a labial. The change was well established by this time; cf. *gevis*, *mekle* in Hay, *prevelie*, *sekerly* in "The Bruce."

wekit (C. wycked), 19. 10. euell (C. euyll), 30. 2. perell (C. peryll), 36. 6. wemen (C. wymmen), 38. 14. wedowis (C. wydowes), 38. 15. fecht (C. fyght), 52. 1. velany (C. vylony), 56. 12.

Note 1. *be-* (prefix) and *bi* (preposition) are often written *be* in MS. against *bi* in Caxton.

Note 2. In *wesely* (C. wysely), 8. 4, the change is extended to an original long *i*.

betuene (C. bitwene), 57. 5.

besich (C. byseche), 11. 4.

9. O.E. *ǣ/ð* + nasal + cons. > M.E. *ǿ*; Sc. *ǣ*.

lang, 3. 13. langynge, 2. 17. amang, 15. 12.

10. O.E. *ā* > M.E. *ȃ*; Sc. *ā*, often written *ai*.

aith (C. othe), 43. 2, O.E. *āp*. raid (C. rode), 6. 7, O.E. *rād*.
maist (C. moste), 16. 5, Nth O.E. *māst*. quham (C. whome),
25. 11, O.E. *hwām*. fra (C. fro), 16. 6, O.N. *frā*.

11. O.E. *āg*, *āw* > M.E. *ou*, *ow*; Sc. *au*, *aw*.

knew (C. know), 10. 9, O.E. *cnāwan*. saull (C. soule), 32. 3,
O.E. *sāwol*. aw (C. owe), 24. 8, O.E. *āgan*. awyn (C. owne),
27. 2, O.E. *āgen*.

12. O.E. *ea* + *ld* > M.E. *ȃ*; Early S. *ā*; Mid. Sc. *au*.

ald (C. old), 13. 1. tald (C. told), 62. 15, etc.

The writing of *au*, *aw* before *ld*, corresponding to Sth. *ȃ*, is an outstanding feature of Mid. Sc. It does not always presuppose O.E. *ea* (cf. *wauld* = would. Greg. Smith's "Specimens," 12. 29), and

very rarely it is found without a following *ld* cf. *bawld* (= bade) in Dunbar's "The Thistle and the Rose".

Loutfut has only one example of this usage:—

cauld (C. cold), 62. 14.

13. O.E. and O.N. *ō* > Sc. *ū* in 14th century.

buk (C. booke), 1. 1. gud (C. good), 3. 9. blud (C. blood),

124. 14. tuk (C. took), 13. 12, Icel. *tōk* from *taka*. wnderstud

(C. vnderstode), 12. 5. sculis (C. scoles), 20. 12, O.E. *scōl*.

rute (C. rote), 90. 5, Icel. *r t*.

14. O.E. short *u* and Norman Fr. *u* (later O.Fr. *ou*) are often retained by Loutfut, usually before *r* or a nasal. These are archaic features, exemplified in the fragments of Scots Laws, actually written in 1385, 1389 and 1398.¹

cum (C. come), 5. 3. sumtym (C. somtyme), 11. 11. curage

(C. corage), 4. 1. return (C. retorne), 13. 7. cuntreis (C.

countreyes), 8. 11. sudanly (C. sodenly), 79. 16.

In other cases, Loutfut has the Norman Fr. *o*.

honorable (C. honourable), 4. 11. contenans (C. countenance),

7. 10. jorneyes (C. iourneyes), 9. 2,

(b) Consonants.

1. Hard *c* is represented by *c* or *k*, e.g., kest (C. caste), 9. 6.

Original *cc*, *kk* is represented by *k*, *kk*, not *ck*.

wikit (C. wycked), 18. 12. lake (C. lacke), 36. 3. prikketh

(C. prycketh), 79. 12.

2. M.E. initial consonantal *y* (generally presupposing O.E. spirant *g*) is represented by *ȝ*.

ȝour (C. youre), O.E. *ēower*, 11. 4, ȝoung (C. yonge), O.E.

geong, 53. 7. wynȝerd (C. vyneyerd), O.E. *-geard*, 103. 12.

bezond (C. beyonde), O.E. *-geond*, 122. 1.

ȝ in this position is universal in Mid. Sc. In Early Sc. the usual spelling is *yh*, while in Ramsay's transcript of the "Bruce" and in "The Craft of Deyng" there occurs a transitional form *ȝh*. There are one or two examples of these spellings in Loutfut, e.g. ȝhe, 11. 4. yhe, 122. 8 (C. ye).

3. O.E. spirant *h*, generally followed by *t*, > Eng. *gh*, *ȝ*, *h*. Sc. *ch*.

thocht (C. thouȝt), 4. 1. mycht (C. myȝt), 4. 2. lichtly (C.

lyghtly), 7. 4. brocht (C. brought), 9. 3. sych (C. syȝhe), 9. 7.

hich (C. hyhe), 17. 4. fecht (C. fyȝht), 52. 2.

¹ See specimens, "Dialect of Southern Counties of Scotland," p. 91.

ch supplanted *gh* towards the end of the Early Scots period. In the MS. it is usually contracted, but the full spelling also occurs in several places. In one or two cases the MS. has *gh*, but this is quite exceptional, *e.g.* fyghteth, 33. 7. knyghtes, 121. 13.

4. (i). *h* added—dishordeyn (C. dysordeyne), 37. 1.

(ii). *h* omitted—wiche (C. whiche), 33. 6. witsonted (C. Whitsontyd), 66. 10.

Both are scribal vagaries of no importance.

Note. There is no example of the analogical prosthetic *h*, which is fairly common in translations from the French and works produced under French influence, *e.g.* hable (Hay, Vol. ii. p. 11). habandonis ("The Portous of Nobleness" in Greg. Smith's "Specimens," p. 75).

5. Intrusive *l* before *k*.

There is only one example in Loutfut.

walk (C. wake), 67. 3.

This appears to have been the first word in which intrusive *l* was written, for Prof. Skeat has a long note on *valk* in "The Bruce," giving his opinion that "*l* in this word is due to the fact that the scribes wrote *kk* in such a manner that it looks like *lk*. Thus *valk* = *valkk*, riming with *tak*."

6. Fr. *ll* (*l* mouillé) is represented in the MS. by *l3*.

Fr. *gn* is represented in the MS. by *n3* and by other combinations.

Early Scots words have *lyh*, *nyh*, as *falyhe* (fail), *fenyhe* (feign).¹ From Loutfut's practice it appears that in 1494 *l3* was accepted as the form corresponding to *l* mouillé, but that there was still uncertainty about *n* mouillé.

bail3ers (C. baillyes), 29. 1. Will3am (C. William), 121. 3.

faly3ed (C. faylled), 4. 4. tail3our (C. taillour), 22. 1.

sen3eory (C. seynnorye), 1. 11. sengh3eory, 116. 8. ensen3eneth (C. enseyn3eneth), 114. 11.

The following forms also occur—

ensenghement, 114. 3. enseigment, 17. 7. ensey3nd, 15. 7.

enseighne, 11. 8.

7. The change of *-id*, *-yt* to *-it*, *-yt* in the past tense and past part. of verbs is characteristic of Mid. Sc. See "Accidence." *-it* for Sth. *-ed* is also found in adjectival forms, *e.g.* wikit, 18. 12. Hay has *nakit*

¹ See Greg. Smith's "Specimens," p. xxiv, for a note on the spelling and pronunciation of such words.

(vol. ii. p. 64). -art for Sth. -ard is also found, e.g. cowart, 55. 14. upwart, 78. 3; towart, 78. 4.

8. O.E. *rp* > M.E. *rð* > *rd*.

There are many exceptions to this rule. Loutfut follows the rule, but Caxton keeps *th*.

wordy (C. worthy), 40. 10, O.E. *weorþig*. burdin (C. burthen), 83. 4, O.E. *byrþen*.

9. O.E. -*der* > M.E. -*ðer* > -*ther*.

hidder (C. hyther), 8. 10, O.E. *hider*.

Loutfut keeps the old forms and even writes *bredir* (C. bretheren), 96. 8, when the O.E. form has *p* (*gebrōpor*).

10. (i.) Prof. Gregory Smith notes that *ff* often stands for *f* at the beginning of a sentence or in some other emphatic position. In the MS. it occurs frequently in *ffor* (cf. 20. 3), but usually this word bears no special emphasis. Other cases of *ff* for *f* are :—

off (C. of), 23. 15. selff, 117. 10. ffortress, 92. 7.

(ii.) *f*, *ff* for Sth. *ve* at the end of a syllable. This is characteristic of all periods of Scots.

lif (C. lyue), 42. liffid, 5. 6. serf, 15. 12. kerff, 21. 14.

greif (C. griene), 50. 3. giffin (C. gyuen), 11. 13. behuffit (C. behoued), 5. 3.

11. *p* for *th* occurs in short words of common occurrence, as *pe*, *pi*, *pair*, *opir*.

Occasionally *th* is written *t* (e.g. fowrt, 2. 10; fift, 2. 13), and frequently *tht* (e.g. detht, 16. 6; fetht, 25. 1; youtht, 98. 6).

12. Fr. *ce* written *s*.

This is a very common usage in Early and Mid. Sc., and is much favoured by Loutfut.

sentens (C. sentence), 5. 2. reuerens (C. reuerence), 8. 8.

fors (C. forces), 12. 3. sciens (C. scyence), 20. 13. mas (C.

mace), 80. 11. enforsed (C. enforced), 92. 2. resauing (C. receyuyng), 48. 7.

Loutfut regularly writes -*ans* for Caxton's -*aunce*.

puyssans, 1. 11. signifians, 2. 17. pennans, 6. 12. ordinans, 10. 4.

It is clear that in Mid. Sc. soft *c* and voiceless *s* were regarded as interchangeable, for there are several cases in which Loutfut writes *ce* for Caxton's *se*, *sse*.

grace (C. grasse), 8. 5. suffice (C. suffyse), 19. 14. peice

(C. pees), 45. 13. cerced (C. serched), 15. 8.

Note 1.—In *prayced* (C. *praysed*), 41. 11, and *mastrice* (C. *mays-tryes*), 95. 9). O.Fr. *maistrise*, Loutfut's *ce* represents an original voiced *s*.

Note 2.—*extorsionis* (C. *extorcions*), 34. 15, is derived from Fr. *extorsion*.

Note 3.—*consalour* 117. 2, is from Fr. *cunseil*; C. *conceyllour* is from Fr. *cuncile*.

13. (i.) *s, ss* for Sth. *sh, ssh* (medial and final).

This usage, which is fairly common in Mid. Sc., is very frequent in Loutfut.

astablisshed (C. *establysshed*), 27. 9. *taccomphysse* (C. *tacc-complysshe*); 46. 11. *norised* (C. *nourysshed*), 57. 2.

Note 1.—The spellings *ch* and *sch* also occur.

f[r]enche (C. *Frensshe*), 16. 1. *folichly* (C. *folichly*), 53. 9. *flesche* (C. *flesshe*), 24. 12.

Note 2.—The spelling *fulssed* (C. *falshede*), 87. 2, is due to the scribe's mechanically changing *sh* to *ss*.

Note 3.—The spelling *ynghis*, 16. 2, is due to unstressed O.E. *sc* becoming *s* in Nth. (cf. *sal, suld*, etc.).

(ii.) O.E. *sc* (initial) regularly becomes Mid. Sc. *sch*; Eng. *sh*.

e.g. *schaw* (C. *Shewe*), 1. 6.

14.—Metathesis.¹

(i.) *r, e.g.* *birn* (C. *brenne*), 42. 1. *thruste* (C. *thurste*), 62. 14.

(ii.) *ng* for *gn* (as in *conding* for *condign*).

This usage, which is very common in the Scottish Chaucerians, is not found in Loutfut.

Note 1.—Loutfut very often simplifies doubled vowels and consonants. Quite often, however, he doubles a single consonant, just as he sometimes adds final *e* where there is none in Caxton.

(a) *pan* (C. *thenne*), 4. 6. *febilnes* (C. *feblennesse*), 4. 10. *do* (C. *doo*), 8. 8. *go* (C. *goo*), 8. 10. *fer* (C. *ferre*), 8. 11. *mer-vail* (C. *meruaylle*), 10. 7. *had red* (C. *hadde redde*), 12. 5.

(b) *thidder* (C. *thyder*) 6. 3. *pennans* (C. *penaunce*), 6. 12. *watteris* (C. *watres*), 4. 8. *litill* (C. *lytyl*), 7. 1. *stollen* (C. *stolen*), 52. 15. *liff* (C. *lyf*), 5. 13.

Note 2.—Fr. *re, yre, ure* is represented in the MS. by *our*.

ordour (C. *ordre*), 1. 2. *cheptour* (C. *chapytre*), 2. 3. *plesour* (C. *playsyre*), 11. 4. *mesour* (C. *mesure*), 56. 16. *natour* (C. *nature*), 17. 10. *procour* (C. *procure*), 79. 14. *armouris* (C. *armures*), 81. 5.

¹ See "Specimens," p. xxx.

Note 3.—*u, v, w.*

In Caxton, *v* is always printed initially and *u* medially, to represent both the vowel and the consonant.

In Loutfut, the vowel is written *v* initially, *u* medially.¹ The consonant *v* is written *v* or *w* initially, *w* or *u* medially.

wse, 32 (margin). wndyr (C. vnder), 89. 13. wnderstud (C. vnderstode), 12. 5. wile (C. vyle), 19. 6. wynzard (C. vyneyard), 103. 12. velany (C. vylony), 56. 12. covatoufs (C. coueytous), 53. 8. deuoteie (C. deuoutely), 13. 12. recover (C. recoure), 17. 7. werite (C. veryte), 17. 8.

ACCIDENCE.

Loutfut is least Scottish in his inflexions. Even in his orthography, he very often retains Caxton's spellings, but he does so much more frequently in his terminations. Besides purely English and purely Scottish forms, he has also a number of anomalous forms combining the characteristics of both.

1. *Verbs.* He rivals his contemporary, the writer of "Lancelot of the Laik" (1490), in the number and variety of his verbal inflexions. The following is an exhaustive list, with examples. Obvious scribal errors are excluded.

Pres. Indic. 1st sing. As in Cax., except for orthographical changes. *E.g.* I go, I haf, I suppos.

2nd sing. -is knowis, 10. 5.
-ist derrist, 10. 7.
-est ouchtest, 50. 6.

3rd sing. -s has, 9. 3.
-is endis, 3. 7.
-ys begynnys, 1. 1.
-it thinkit, 11. 6.
-yt appertenyt, 9. 6.
-iet sufficiet, 22. 11.

¹ There are one or two words in the MS. in which *w* seems to be written for medial *u* and *ou*, *e.g.* *twiching* (C. touching), 32. 2. The spellings *twiching* and *twiching* also occur, suggesting that in *twiching* *u* is written *w* and *i* is orthographical. It seems possible, however, that the spelling *twiching* may be due to confusion between the similar verbs *twich* and *touch* and that in Scots *twich* or *twich* may have adopted some of the meanings of *touch*; cf. Sir W. Mure, "Misc. Poems," xi. 5 (1657):—

"Hands, forbear to twich
Oght your twiching cam bewitch."

Loutfut has *proce* for Caxton's *proue* (= prove), 91. 5. Apparently he carelessly read Caxton's *ou* as a diphthong, which he represented by *w*. Initial and medial *u* is frequently written *w* in "The Craft of Deyng," *e.g.* *wknawlage*, *retwernynge*, *wndoiois*.

-eth seyg[no]rieth, 1 7
 -eith falleith, 62. 1.
 -etht deffeateth, 34. 1.
 -tht dotht, 50. 9.
 -ith hatith, 27. 6.
 -iht prisith, 27. 5.
 -yth fanyth, 53. 14.
 -ytht begynnith, 14. 10.

1st pl. No example.

2nd pl. "blissid be *ye* pat *has* brocht me," 12. 10.

3rd pl. Usually as in Cax., but frequently -s or -is. *E.g.*
 labouris, 25. 5 ; has, 26. 3.

Occasionally -eth. *E.g.* accordeth, 58. 13 ; and -ys.
E.g. appertenys, 63. 2.

Note.—The regular inflexion of the verb in Mid. Sc. is as follows :—

When each inflexion is immediately preceded by its appropriate pronoun.

1st sing. fynd.	1st plur. fynd.
2nd „ fyndis.	2nd „ fynd.
3rd „ fyndis.	3rd „ fynd.

When the subject is not a personal pronoun, or when the verb is separated from the personal pronoun, the form is *fyndis* for all persons and both numbers.

E.g. "I and otheris drawis togedir" (Hay).

"Blissid be *3e* pat *has* brocht me," 12. 10.

Present Participle and Verbal Noun.

-ing. praying (vb. n n.), 1. 3.

saying (pres. pt.), 32. 6.

-yng. langyng (pres. pt.), 2. 17.

-yn, in. beyn (pres. pt.), 2. 4. werin (vb. nn.), 7. 7.

beginnyng (vb. nn.), 90. 5.

-ene. accordene (pres. pt.), 121. 5.

These endings are regular for the verbal noun in Mid. Sc. The proper ending for the pres. pt. is -and or -ant, but in Loutfut these are only found corresponding to Fr. -aunt.¹

The distinction in spelling between participle and verbal noun was less carefully observed in later Mid. Sc. The participial form is never found in the verbal noun, except perhaps in the anomalous "Lancelot

¹ See above, "Syllabic Groups," § 1.

of the Laik," but the *-ing* ending begins to do duty for both. The *-and* form was regular in Loutfut's time, however, and although it is evident that he was strongly influenced by Caxton's inflexions throughout, it is remarkable that he should have rejected entirely this characteristic Scots inflexion.

Loutfut has the ending *-aul*, *-aunl* only in verbal adjectives ending in *-aunt* in Caxton.

obeisand, 13. 10. aboundand, 4. 8. servand, 19. 16. puyssaund, 38. 15. recreand, 88. 5. suffisand.

Past Indic.—Weak.

The older *-yd*, *-id* is the regular ending, but *-yt*, *-it*, *-t* also occur frequently, and the Sth. *ed* is sometimes found.

E.g. hapnyt, 3. 12. hapnyd, 5. 13. mervelid, 7. 11. muffit, 6. 3. deuysit, 2. 4. falzed, 4. 4. salust (Cax. salewed), 8. 3. behuffit, 5. 3. mounted, 13. 13.

Past Part.

Strong. *-yn*. cummyn, 6. 12; songyn, 67. 9.

-in. brokin, 7. 7; gevin, 58. 1.

Weak. *-d*, *-id*. commandid, 8. 12; distroyd, 33. 11.

-t, *-it*. ordanit, 23. 10; redoutit, 125. 1.

vencust (= vanquished), 35. 13.

ponyst, 42. 8.

-ed. sourmounted, 35. 15; inclyned, 40. 4.

-eth. defendeth, 91. 8.

If *-eth* in the last example be not a scribal error, it must be taken as a variant writing of *-et*, a participial ending which is frequently found in texts showing English or foreign influence. The writing of *th* for *t* is paralleled in "Lancelot of the Laik"—"he haith upwarpath."

Auxiliary Verbs.

The following forms are found, besides Sth. forms:—

Pres 2 sg. sal, 18. 6; salt, 71. 8; 2 pl. salbe, 13. 7.

Past 3 pl. suld, 30. 11. These are the Early Sc. forms, continued into the Middle period.

Past 3 pl. war, 17. 14.

Pres. 3 sg. most (= must), 18. 8.

Pres. 2 sg. ouchtest, 50. 6; auchest, 19. 9.

3 sg. aucht, 2. 11; ocht, 10. 3; oucht, 10. 4.

3 pl. ouchten, 45. 1; outhene, 1. 12; aw (Cax. owe), 24. 8.

Pres. 2 sg. mast, 38. 10.

3 sg. ma, 27. 9.

2. Nouns.

In the plural, both the Southern *-es* and the Northern *-is, -ys* are found. Words ending in a sibilant usually take the plural ending, but note *fors* (C. *forces*), 12. 3.

3. Adjectives.

Many adjectives and pronouns in Mid. Sc. take the sign of the plural. It is uncertain whether this is due to French or to Latin influence; cf. Hay—"otheris sacramentis."

There is one example in Loutfut="bodyes terrestres," 1. 9.¹

The negative is generally *nocht*, as in Early Sc.

4. The indefinite article.

There is no indication of the use of *ane* before consonants as well as vowels, both as indefinite article and as numeral. The form was not established in literary usage much before the beginning of the sixteenth century. Like Caxton, Loutfut has *a* before a consonant, *an* before *h* or a vowel. The spelling *ane* is common.

E.g. a knycht, an heremyt, one of the þe partes, ane other, ane heremytage.

5. Prepositions.

Cax. *by, fro* (= from); MS. *be, fra*.

The sign of the infinitive is regularly *to*, but the Nth. *til* is sometimes used for the preposition.

E.g. do til him reuerens, 8. 8. mounted til his palfra, 13. 13.

6. Conjunctions.

Cax. *yf, bycause, er* (= before); MS. *gif, in causis or be causis, ar*.

7. Pronouns.

(a) Relative.

(i) *at* (= that) was supplanted in Mid. Sc. by *quhilk*. A trace of the old usage is seen in *at has*, 25. 9, for *that hath*. *at* occurs once as a conjunction, 84. 9.

(ii) *quha*, as a simple relative, supplanted *quhilk* in later Mid. Sc. Prof. Gregory Smith has the following note:—

"In earlier Mid. Sc. it stands for the compound *he who, whoever, whoso*, or is found with *sa*. Examples of the later use of *quha* are common in Lyndsay. . . . *Quha* as a simple interrogative is earlier and

¹ The placing of the adjective after its noun is also common in Mid. Sc., but here Loutfut is simply following Caxton.

common. The oblique cases of *quha*, used as a simple relative, appear to have preceded the nominative" (p. xxxiv).

Caxton's usage, which Loutfut follows, is exactly the same as is described in the above paragraph. *Who* is never used as a relative in the nominative case, the regular pronoun being *whiche* (MS. *quhilk* or the hybrid *quhiche*). *Who* (MS. *quho*, an analogical form), with the meaning *whoever* occurs on p. 16, e.g.: Cax. "who that wyllle entre." The oblique cases frequently occur as a simple relative.

E.g. whome quham, 5.10. whos quhas, 122.5. whoos quhois, 123.7.

The course of development in English was thus identical with that in Scots, but took place rather earlier. In following Caxton, therefore, Loutfut was slightly in advance of his times.

(b) *Demonstrative.*

(i) Cax. *these*; MS. *thes*, *theise*, *pis*.

thir, which is the predominant form in the Scottish Chaucerians, does not occur.

(ii) In Mid. Sc. *tha* (= those) was confused with *thai* (= they), probably by the addition of orthographical *i* to the former; cf. Hay—*thai honourable actis*.

At 122.9 both Cax. and Loutfut have *tho* (= those)—*in the dayes*.

WORD FORMS.

(a) *French influence.*

Some authorities¹ and "a persistent popular tradition" have maintained that French exerted a very powerful influence upon the language of the Middle Period. This influence would naturally be most marked in translations from French. Loutfut's transcript does not strictly come under this category, but the French element in his original, Caxton's print, is very considerable. Caxton retains much of the vocabulary of his French original, including many words, such as *enseignement*, *barates*, which failed to take root in English soil.

An examination of Loutfut's MS., however, fully supports, with regard to this particular MS., Prof. Greg. Smith's contention that the extent and importance of French influence on Mid. Sc. has been

¹ Cf. M. Francisque-Michel's "Critical Inquiry into the Scottish Language," 1832.

greatly exaggerated.¹ In many cases the scribe substitutes for Caxton's French word the form that was commonly used in English.
E.g.

C. playsyre, MS. plesour, 11. 4.	armures armes, 16. 6.
batayll batell, 16. 5.	subgettis subiectis, ² 19. 7.
seiourne soirn, 20. 2.	orphelyns orphanis, 39. 8.
suffysaunt sufficient, 2. 30. 12.	harnoys harnes, 54. 6.
noblesse nobleness, 47. 11.	messenger messinger, 117. 12.
royamme realm, 89. 2.	

A large number of French words had been naturalised in Scots during the Early Period. There are many of these in Loutfut.

E.g. C. charyte, MS. cherite, 90. 9. From alternative O.Fr. forms—*charité* and *chierité*.

C. chyualry, MS. cheualry, 1. 2. O.Fr. *cheualerie*.

The word is always spelt *chevalry* in "Bruce."

C. doubtest, MS. dowtis, 38. 7, Fr. *douter*.

The scribe has the O.Fr. and Mid. Eng. form, instead of the Renaissance reformed spelling from Lat. *dubitare*.
fautis, 63 (margin).

Again the scribe prefers the older form. *l* was inserted in the fifteenth century from Folk Lat. **fallita* (fem. of **fallitus*, new past part. of *fallere* = to deceive).

C. masse, MS. mefs, 67. 9, O.Fr. *messe*. Regular form in "Bruce."

C. glorie, MS. gloire, 1. 4.

gloire is derived from O.Fr. *glorie* or from Lat. *gloria*, not from later Fr. *gloire*. The *i* is orthographical.

C. preyseth, MS. prisitht, 27. 5, Fr. *priser*.

The meaning is *esteem*, *value*—

"A knyght that so moche loueth and preyseth his owen ordre that he myspryseth and hateth other ordre."

Cf. Piers Plowman—"pis chaffare to preise" (B. v. 331), According to Cotgrave, *priser* means "to esteem, respect, reckon,

¹ "Specimens," pp. lv-lx.

² These words are derived directly from Latin. *subditis* (Lat. *subditus* = subject) occurs on p. 34, l. 15. This MS. shows that Latin was beginning to exert an influence that became very marked in later Mid. Sc.

On p. 30, l. 9 *exercsing* for *exercysing* is probably not due to the influence of Fr. *exercer*, but is an example of the very common Mid. Sc. adoption of Lat. infinitive root (*exercēs*) instead of the past part. (*exercitus*); cf. *propone*, *promyt* = propose, promise. *exercēs* also occurs

accompt of." The verb is common in Early Scots, meaning either *to esteem* or *to praise*; cf. "Bruce," vi. 505 (esteem), iii. 156; viii. 105 (praise).

C. vaynquysshed, MS. vencust, 35. 13.

From O.Fr. *veinquissant*, pres. part. of *veinquir*, a collateral form of O.Fr. *veindre*.

C. very, MS. verray, 24. 6, Fr. *vrai*.

verray occurs both in E.Sc. and Mid. Eng.; cf. "Piers Plowman"—"verrey charite" (B. xvii. 289).

C. warres, MS. werres, 45. 6. O.Fr. *werre*. Regular form in "Bruce."

C. yssued, MS. ischit, 6. 8, Fr. *yssit*.

ische is a very common word in E. Sc. of "Bruce," ii. 248.

In all these cases Loutfut is simply using the word that was current in his time.

(b) Characteristic Scots forms.

Philological notes on the following words in Loutfut are contained in the Glossary:—

abone, aganis, aganest, alsuo, bon, cheptour, cled, eftir, kirk, knychthed, lauchfull, opetnyt, quhen, sammyn, siche.

(c) Scribal errors.

This MS. provides an excellent opportunity for watching a fifteenth century scribe at work. Loutfut wrote a very neat hand and was probably accounted an excellent scribe, but his work cannot fail to increase one's faith in the solution of textual cruces by the "scribal error" method. Every page of the MS. contains instances of careless copying or of omissions of one or more words.

SUMMARY.

The linguistic features of Loutfut's MS. are mainly those that one would expect to find in a text written in 1494. It belongs to the late Transition period, and has many points of contact with both Early and Middle Scots. While showing a marked Southern influence, especially in the accidence, it is free, except in the verbal inflexions, from the meaningless eccentricities of "Lancelot of the Laik." The most remarkable instance of Southern influence is the complete absence of *-and* in the present participle.

The MS. cannot be described as a pure Middle Scots text, for several of the most characteristic usages of the period are meagrely represented or not found at all. Orthographic *i* is common, but

not invariable, while intrusive *l* is found only in *walk* and *au* for O.E. *ea*, *a* before *l* + consonant only in *cauld*.

Finally, with due allowance for Southern influence, Loutfut's MS. may fairly be considered as representative of the Scottish vernacular in 1494. Its value, in throwing light on the history of the development of the Scottish tongue, is not obscured, as is the case with some Middle Scots writers, by excessive French¹ or Chaucerian influence.

Loutfut set honestly to work to transcribe a popular English treatise into the Scots of his own day. To the modern philologist, who has at his command such an inconsiderable quantity of fifteenth century Scottish prose, his work has a decided historical value.

¹ Cf. "The Complaynt of Scotland."

The Book of the Ordre of Chyualry.

Cuxton.

¶ Here begynneth the Table of this present booke
Intytled the Book of the ordre of chyualry or
knyghthode.

[1. 30]

¹ V Nto the praysyng and dynyne glorie of god¹ /
5 whiche is lord and souerayne kynge aboue and
ouer alle thynges celestyal / and worldly / We begynne
this book of the ordre of chyualry For to shewe that to
the sygnefaunce of god the prynce almyghty whiche
seynoryeth aboue the seuen planettes / that make the
10 cours celestyal / and haue power & seynorye in govern-
ynge & ordeynynge the bodyes terrestre and erthely /
that in lyke wyse owen the kynges prynces and grete
lordes to haue puyssaunce and seynorye vpon the
knyghtes / And the knyghtes by symylytude oughten to

As God rules
the planets,

which con-
trol the ter-
restrial
globe,
so kings
ought to
govern
knights,
who should

Loutfut.

Heir begynnys the table of pis present buk intitilled
pe buk of pe ordour of cheualry or knyched.

[fol. 83]

U nto pe praysing and devyn gloire of God, quihiche
is lord and soueran king aboue & our al thingis
5 celestiall and warldle, we begin pis buk of the ordre
of cheualry for to schaw pat to pe suffisans of God pe prince
almychty, quihiche seyg[no]rieth abon pe vij planetis pat
mak pe cours celestiall and has power & senzeory in
governing and ordanyng the bodyes terrestres and arthely,
10 pat in likwifs [ow]en^a pe kingis princis & gret lordis to
haue puyssans and senzeory apon pe knyghtes. And pe
knyghtes by similitud outhene to haue power & domina-

^a MS. quhen.

¹ MS. RJ. A la loenge et gloire de la pourueance diuine dieu.
A. A la louenge et a la gloire de la prouidence diuine dieu.

Caxton.

have do-
minion over
the common
people.
[p. 80 b]

haue power and dominacion ouer the moyen peple And
this booke conteyneth viii chapitres

¶ The fyrst chapytre sayth / how a knyght beyng an
Heremyte deused to the squyer the rule and ordre of
chyualrye

5

¶ The second is of the begynnyng of Chyualry

¶ The thyrð is of thoffyce of chyualrye

¶ The fourthe of the examynacion / that ought to be
made to the esquier whan he wylle entre in to the ordre
of chyualry

10

¶ The fyfthe is in what maner the squyer ought to
receyue chyualry

¶ The syxthe is of the sygnefyauce of the armes
longynge to a knyght al by ordre

Loutfut.

cione ouere the moyen peple. And pis buk contenys
viij chepteris.

The first cheptour

Schawis how a knyght beyn ane heremyt deusyt to þe
squyer þe reull and ordour of cheualrye.

5

The secound cheptour

The secound cheptour is of þe beginnyng of cheualry.

The third cheptour

The third cheptour is of þe office of cheualry, etc.

The fowrt cheptour

10

The fowrt of þe examynacion þat aucht to be maid to
þe squyer quhen he will enter in þe ordour of cheualry.

The fift cheptour

The fift cheptour is in quhat maner þe squyer aucht to
resaif cheualry.

15

The vi cheptour

The vj cheptour is of þe signifiens of þe armes langynge
to a knyght all be by ordre.

Caxton.

¶ The seuenth of the custommes that apperteyne to a knyght:

¶ The eyght ¹ is ^a of the honour that oughte to be done to a knyght

5 ¶ Thus endeth the table of the book of Chyualry.

¶ Here after foloweth the mater and tenour of this said Booke. And the Fýrst chapýter saith hou the good Heremýte deuýsed to the Esquýer the Rule & ordre of chýualrye

[p. 31]

10 **A**^b Contreý ther was in which it happed that a wyse knyght whiche longe had maynteneð the ordre of chyualrye And that by the force & noblesse of his hyghe courage and wysedom and in auenturyng his body had

A brave and distinguished knight

^a C. is.

^b Here is a large floriated A, eight lines deep, the same as is used in Caxton's "Æsop."

Loutfut.

The vii cheptour

The vij cheptour is of þe customes þat pertenyis to a knyght.

The viii cheptour

5 The viij cheptour is of þe honour þat aucht to be don to a knyght.

þus endis þe table of þe buk of cheualry.

Heir eftir followis þe mater and tennour of þis said buk. And þe first cheptour sais how þe gud

10 heremyte * deuýsed to þe squyer þe rewle and ordour of cheualry.

[* fol. 33 b]

Contreý þer was in quhich it hapnyt þat a wifs knyght quhiche lang had manteined þe ordour of cheualry, þat with forrour & nobilnes of his hie curage & wisdom,
15 & in auenturyng his body, had manteinynd weris justis &

¹ R. et desrenier.

Carton.

in old age
retired from
the world
to live a
hermit's life
in a wood.

[* p. 31½]

mayntened warres justes & tornoyes / & in many batailles
had had many noble vyctoryes & glorious / & by cause he
sawe & thougt in his corage þ^t he myzt not long lyue¹ /
as he whiche by long tyme had ben by cours of nature
nyghe vnto his ende / ²chaas to hym an heremytage² / 5
For nature faylled in hym by age / And hadde no power
ne vertu to vse * armes as he was woned to do / Soo that
thenne his herytages / & alle his rychesses he lefte to his
children³ / and made his habytacion or dwellynge place
in a grette wode habondaunt of watres and of grette⁴ 10
trees / and hyhe berynge fruytes of dyuerse manyers /
And fledde the world / by cause that the feblenesse of his
body in the whiche he was by old age fallen / ⁵And that
he dishonoureð not that / whiche that in honourable
thynges and auenturous hadde ben longe tyme honoureð⁵ / 15
The same knyght thynkyng on the dethe / remembryth

Loutful.

tournays, and in caufs he saw & thoct in his curage þat
he mycht not lang lif, as þe quhiche be lang tym had bene
be cours of natur nyghe vn-to his end, chaas to him ane
herimytage, for natur falzed in him by age; and had na
powere no vertu to vse armes as he wes wont to do. So 5
þat þan his heritage & al his riches he left to his children,
and maid his habitacione or duelling place in a gret wod
abondand of watteris & of gret treis and hie bering frutis
of diuerfs maneris. And fled þe world by caufs þat þe
febilnes of his body in þe quhilk he wes be old age fallen; 10
and þat he dishonouryt not that quhich þat in honorable
thingis and auentouris had bene lang tym honored. The
sammyn knyght, thinking on þe deth, remembring of þe

¹ R. viure. A. durer ne viure.

²⁻² R. Om. A. eslut vie dermite. J. eslut vie hermitaine.

³ R. adds—et meu de deuotion eslut une hermitage.

⁴ R. troshaulz. A. haulz.

⁵⁻⁵ A. J. ne le deshonnourast qui en honnourables choses sages
et auentureuses lauoiert par longtems honnours. (So in Lull.)

Carton.

the departynge fro this world in to that other / and also
thought of the ryght redoubtable sentence of oure lord in
the whiche hym behoued to come to the day of Juge-
ment / In one of the parties of the same wode was a fayr
5 medowe / in whiche was a tree ¹ wel laden and charged ¹ of
fruyte in his tyme / of whiche the knyght lyued in the
forest ² / And vnder the same tree ³ was a fontayne moche
fayre and clere / that ⁴ aroused and moysted all the
medowe ⁴ / And in that same place was the knyght
10 acustomed to come euery daye * for to preye and adoure
god Almyghty / To whome he rendryd thankyng of the
honoure that he had done to hym in thys worlde alle the
dayes of his lyf / In that tyme it happed at the entryng of
a strong ⁵ wynter / that a kynge moche noble / wyse / and

[* p. 32]

A squire,
riding to
court to be
knighted,

Loutfut.

departing fro pis world in-to that other, also ^a thoct of
pe ryght redoutable sentens of our lord in pe quhiche him
behuffit to cum to pe day of jugement.

In one of pe partis of pe sammyn wod wes a fair medow
5 in quhiche wes a tre weil laden & chairgit of frute in his
tym of quhich pe knyght liffid in pe forest. And wnder
pe sammyn tre wes a fontan moch fair & cleir pat arosed
and moystit al pe medow. And in pat sammyn place
wes pe knyght acustomed to cum euery day for to pray
10 and odoure God almyhti, to quham he rendred thanking
of pe honour pat he had done to him in pis world all pe
dais of his liff.

In pat tym it hapnyd at pe entryng of a stronge
wynter pat a king moche noble, wifs, & ful of noble

^a MS. and also.

¹⁻¹ *R.* bien chargie. *A.* chargie.

² *R.* adds—attendant la misericorde de nostre benoit redemptour
ihesu crist que chacun doit desirer. (Not in *Lull*.)

³ *R.* arbre. *A.* *Vérart*, pommier.

⁴ *R.* le prayel arousoit. *J.* le prael et les arbres qui entour lui
estoient arrousoit. (So in *Lull*.) *A.* As *J.*, but "arrousoit" om.

⁵ *R.* grant. *A.* fort.

Caxton.

fell asleep
on his horse

and was
carried to
the hermit's
retreat

[* 1. 32 b]

ful of good custommes / sente for many nobles / by cause
that he wold hold a grete Courte / And by the grete
renomme that was of thys Courte¹ / It happed that a
Squyer moeved hym for to goo thyder / in entencion /
that there he shold be made knyght / ¶ Thus as he wente 5
²all allone² rydyng vpon³ his palfroy / It happed / that
for the traualle that he hadde susteyned of rydyng / he
slepte vpon his horse / ¶ In the meane whyle that he
rode soo slepyng / his palfroye yssued oute of the ryght
waye / and entryed in to the forest / where as was the 10
knyghte Heremyte³ / And soo longe he wente / that he
came to the fontayne at the same tyme that the knyght
whiche dwellyd in the wode to doo his penaunce was
there comen for to praye vnto god / and for to despyse
* the vanytees of this worlde / lyke as he was acustomed 15
euery day / whan he sawe the squyer come / he lefte his

^a C. vppn.

Loutfut.

[* fol. 84]

custommes sent for mony noblis becaufs pat he wald hald a
gret courte. And by the gret renoun that wes of this
court, it hapnyd pat a squyer muffit him for to go thidder
in entencion pat per he suld be maid knyght. Thus as he
went all alloun riding apon his palfray, it hapnyd pat for 5
pe travail pat he had sustenyd of riding he slepte apon
his hors. In the meane witht that he raid soo * sleping,
his palfray ischit out of pe richt way and enterit
in to pe forest quhar as wes pe knyght heremyt, and
so long he went pat he come to pe fontayn at pe 10
sammyn tyme pat pe knyght, qubilk duellid in pe wod
to do his pennans, wes per cummyn for to pray on-to
God and for to dispifs pe vaniteis of pis world, lik
as he was a-customed euery day. Quhen he saw pe
squyer cum he left his orisoun and sat in pe medow in pe 15

¹ All MSS. add—et par toute la terre.

² ² R. Om.

³ R. dessus dit. JA. Om.

Caxton.

oroyson / and satte in the medowe in the shadow of a
tree And beganne to rede in a lytyl booke that he had in
his lappe / And whan the palfroy was come to the
fontayne / he beganne to drynke / And the squyer
5 that slept anone¹ felte that his hors meue² not /
and lyghtly² awoke / And thenne³ to hym came³
the knyght whiche was moche old / and had a grete
berde / longe heer / and a feble gowne worne and broken
4 for ouer longe werynge⁴ / And by the penaunce
10 that he dayly⁵ made was moche discolour⁴ and lene /
And by the teres that he had wepte / were his eyen
muche wasted / and⁶ hadde a regard⁴ or countenaunce of
muche hooly lyf⁶ / Eche of them merueylle⁴ of other /
For the knyght whiche hadde be moche longe in his

Awaking,
the squire
found him-
self in the
hermit's
presence.

Loutfut.

schadow of a tre. And he began to reid in a litill buke
pat he had in his lappe, and quhen pe palfray wes come to
pe fontayn he began to drink, and pe squyer pat slept
anon felt pat his hors meuyt not & lichtly awok. And
5 then to him come pe knyght, quich wes moche old and
had a gret berd, long hair, ande a feble gowne, worn
and brokin for ouer long werin. And by pe pennans pat
he daly maid wes moche discolourit and lene, and by pe
teris pat he had wept wor his een moche wastit and had a
10 regard or contenans of moche [h]olie^a life. Eche of them
mervelid of oper, for pe knyght, quich had bene moche
long in his herymitage, had sene no man sithe pat he had

^a MS. folie.

¹ MSS. legierement.

² Om.

³⁻⁴ A. deuant lui vint. RJ. deuant lui vit. Lull viu deuant
si.

⁴⁻⁵ MSS. par viellesse.

⁵ Om.

⁶⁻⁶ R. regard auoit dhomme de sainte vie. AJ. auoit regart
domme de moult sainte vie.

Caston.

After polite
greetings
[* p. 32]

the hermit
inquired
about the
squire's
intention.

heremytage / had^t sene no man sythe that he had^t lefte the
world / And^t the Squyer merueylled^t hym strongly / how
he was comen in to that place / Thenne descended^t the
squyer fro his palfroy / and salewed^t the knyght / And^t
the knyzt * receyued^t hym moche wysely / And^t after sette 5
them vpon the grasse ¹ that one by that other ¹ / And^t er
ony of them spak / eche of them byheld^t eche others
chere / The knyght that knewe that the squyer wold^t not
speke fyrst / by cause that he wold doo to hym reuerence
spak fyrst and said / Fayr frend what is your corage or 10
entent / and whyther goo ye / wherfor be ye comen
hyther / Syre sayd he / the Renommee is sprak^t by ferre
countreyes ^a / that a kynge moche wyse and noble / hath
commaunded^t a Courte general / And^t wylle be maade hym
self newe knyght / And^t after adoube and^t make other 15
newe knyghtes / estraunge barons and^t pryue / And^t
therefore I goo to this Courte for to be adoubed^t knyght /

* C. countreyes.

Loutfut.

left þe world; and þe squyer meruelid him stronglie how
he wes cummyn in-to þat place. Then-ne discendit þe
squyer fro his palfrey and salust þe knyght, and the
knyght receyued him moche wesely and eftir set them
apon þe grace, þat one by that othir, and ar ony of þaim 5
spak, iche of þaim bihald iche opiris cheire.

[* fol. 84 b]

Þe knyght, þat knew þat þe squyer wald nocht spek
first becaufs þat he wold do til him reuerens, spak first &
said, "Fair frend, quhat is þour curage or entent, and
quheper go 3he? Quharfore be ye cummyn hidder?" "Sir," 10
said he, "þe renoun is spred by fer cuntreis þat a king
moche wifs & nobil * has commandid a courte general, and
wilbe maid himself new knyght, and eftir a-doube and
mak othir new knyghtis, astraunge baronnys and pryue;
and perfor I go to þis court for to be doubit knyght. But 15

¹⁻¹ R. tous deux. A. lun deles lautre. J. lun de lautre.

Custom.

But whanne I was a slepe for the trauaylle that I haue
had of the grete Journeyes that I haue made / my palfroy
wente oute of the ryght way / and hath brought me vnto
this place / whanne the knyght herd speke of the knyght-
5 hode & chyualrye / And remembryd hym of thordre
of the same / And of that / whiche apperteyneth to a
knyght / he caste oute a * grete syghe / and entryd in a
grete thouzt remembrynge of the honoure / in whiche
Chyualrye hadde ben longe mayntened /

Hearing hi
purpose, the
hermit fell
into a medi-
tation on
the re-
sponsibili-
ties of
kighthood.
[* p. 33 b]

10 ¶ In the meane whyle that the knyghte thus thought /
the Esquier demaunded of hym / whereof he was so
pensyf /

¶ And the knyght answerd to hym /

¶ Fayre sone My thoughte is of the ordre of knyght-
15 hode or Chyualrye / And of the gretenesse ¹ is whiche a
knyghte is holden / in mayntenynge ² the gretenesse of

Loutfut.

quhen I wes a-sleip for pe traueill pat I haf had of the
gret jorneyes pat I haf maid, my palfray went out of pe
richt way and has brocht me wnto pis place."

Quhen pe knyght herd spek of pe knyghted ande
5 cheualry and remembrid him of [t]hordre ^a of pe sammyn,
of pat quhich appertenyt to a knyght, he kest out a gret
sych and enterit in a gret thoucht, remembring of pe
honour in quhich cheualry had bene long mantenynd.

In pe meynquhile pat pe kn[y]cht pus thoct, pe
10 squyer demandit of him quhar-of he wes so pensife.

And the knyght ansuerd to him, "Fair son, my
thocht is of the ordre of knyghted or cheualry, and of
pe gretnes in quhiche a knyght is holdin, in manteinyng

^a MS. hordre.

¹ R. grant aire. A. grandesse. J. Vêrart, grandeur.

²—² R. la hauteuse et honneur de cheualerie. A. lordre de
cheualerie. Vêrart, la haute honneur de cheualier. (So in Lull.)
J. (15, 16) After "Chyualrye":—et de la grandeur, et comme
cheualier doit maintenir la haulte honneur de cheualerie.

Caxton.

The squire
asked to be
instructed
about
knighthood.

The hermit
was sur-
prised at his
ignorance,

[* p. 34]

the honour of chyualry ²./ Themme the Esquier prayd to
the knyght / that he wold saye to hym thordre and the
manere / wherfore me ought the better honoure and kepe
in hye worshippe hit / as hit oughte to be after the
ordenaunce of god / ¶ How sone sayd the knyght 5
knowest thou not what is the ¹ rule and ordre¹ of a
knyghthode / and ² I meruaylle how² thou darest
demaunde Chyualrye³ or knyghthode³ / vnto the tyme
that thou knowe the ordre / ¶ For noo knyght maye not
loue the ordre / ne that whiche apperteyneth to his ordre / 10
but yf he can knowe the deffaultes that he dothe ageynst
the ordre of chyualrye / * Ne no knyght ought to make ony
knyghtes / but yf he hym self know thordre / For a
disordynate⁴ knyghte is he / that maketh a knyght / and
can not shewe the ordre to hym / ne the customme of 15
Chyualry

^a C. or.

Loutfut.

pe gretnes of pe honour of cheualry." Pan pe squyer
praid to the knyght pat he wald say til him thordre and
pe maner quharfor me oght pe better honour and keip in
hye werschip it, as it oucht to be eftir pe ordinans of
God. "How, sone!" said pe knyght, "Knowis pow not 5
quhat is pe Rewl & ordour of knyched? And I
mervail how pow derrist demand cheualry or knyckthed
wnto pe tym pat pow know pe ordour. For no knyght
may noch loue pe ordoure bot gif he can know pe
diffultes pat he doitht aganis pe ordour of cheualry. Ne 10
no knyght aucht to mak ony knyghtis bot gif he himself
know thordre. For a disordanyt knyght is he pat
maketh^a a knyt, and not schew pe ordour til him ne pe
custum of cheualry."

^a MS. may keth.

¹⁻¹ R. la rigle. A. la regle et lordre. J. la reule et lordre.

²⁻² Comment.

³⁻³ Om.

⁴ MSS. desordonne.

Carton.

¶ In the meane whyle that the knyght ¹sayd
these wordes to ¹ the Esquier / that demaunded
Chyualrye / withoute that he knewe / what thyng was
Chyualrye The Esquier ²answerd and sayd to the
5 knyght ² / Syre yf hit be youre playsyre / I byseche yow /
that ye wylle saye ³ and telle ³ to me the ordre of
Chyualrye / For wel me semeth ⁴ and thynketh ⁴ that I
shold lerne hit for the grete desyre / that I haue therto /
And after my power I shalle ensiewe hit / yf hit please
10 yow to ⁵ enseygne shewe and teche ⁵ hit me /

¶ Frend sayd the knyght / the Rule and ordre of
Chyualrye is wretton in this lytyl booke that I hold ⁶ here
in myn handes ⁶ In whiche I rede ⁷ and am besy ⁷ som-
tyme / to the ende / that hit make me remembre ⁸ or
15 thynke on ⁸ the grace and bounte / that god hath ⁹ gyuen
and done ⁹ to me in this world / by cause that I honoured
and ¹⁰ mayntened with al my power thordre of Chyualrye /

and gave
him a little
book about
chivalry.

[* p. 84 b]

Loutfut.

In pe meynquhile pat pe knyght said pis wordis to pe
squier pat demandit cheualry without pat he knew *quhat*
thing wes cheualry, pe squier ansuerd & said to pe
knyght, "Sir, gif it be your plesour, I besich you pat 3he
5 will / * say and tel to me pe ordour of cheualry. For
weil me semyt & thinkit pat I suld lern it for pe gret
desyre pat [I]^a haf per to; and eftir my power I sal
enseiwe it, gif it pleifs you to enseighne & tech it me."

"Frend," said pe knyght, "pe rewl and ordour of
10 cheualry is writtin in pis litil buk pat I hold here in myn
handis, quhiche I reid & I am besy sum tym to pe end
pat it mak me remembre or think on pe grace & bountee
pat God has giffin & done to me in pis world, becaufs pat
I honorit and manteinyt witht al my power thordre of

^a MS. Om.

¹⁻¹ disoit ces paroles et reprenoit.

²⁻² respondit au cheualier.

⁴⁻⁴ Om.

⁷⁻⁷ Om.

⁵⁻⁵ apprendre.

⁶⁻⁸ Om.

³⁻³ Om.

⁶⁻⁶ Om.

⁹⁻⁹ faitte.

Carton.

For alle in lyke wyse as chyualrye gyueth to a knyghte alle that to hym apperteyneth / In lyke wyse a knyzt ought to gyue alle his forces for to honoure Chyualrye /

¶ Thenne the knyght delyuerd to the Esquier the 5 lytyl booke /

¶ And whanne he hadde redde therin / he vnderstode that the knyght only amonge a thousand persones is chosen worthy to haue more noble offyce than alle the thousand / And he had also vnderstanden by that lytyl 10 booke / the Rule and ordre of Chyualry / And thenne he remembryd hym a lytyl / And after sayd / ¹A syro¹ / blessyd be ye / that haue brought me in place and in tyme / that I haue knowlege of Chyualrye / the whiche I haue longe tyme desyred / withoute that I knewe the 15 noblesse of the ordre / ne the honoure in whiche oure lord god hath sette alle them that ben in thordre of chyualrye

The squire
thanked him
heartily.

Loutfut.

cheualry. For al in likwys as cheualry ganys to a knycht al pat to him appertenyt, in likwys a knycht aucht to gif al his fors for to honour cheualry.

pan pe [knycht]^a deliueryt to pe squyer pe litill buk, and quhen he had red perin, he wnderstud pat 5 pe knycht onely amang a thousand personis is worthy choissin to haf more noble office pan al pe thousand, and he had alsuo wnderstandyn by pat litil buk pe reull and ordour of cheualry. And pan he remembrith within a litil and eftir said, "A syr, blissid be ze pat has brocht 10 me in place and in tym pat I haf knowleg of cheualry, pe quhich I haf long tym desirit without pat I knew pe nobles of pe ordour, ne pe honour in quhich our Lord God has set all them pat ben in thordre of cheualry."

^a MS. Om.

¹—¹ R. haa dieu. J. ha sire dieux. A. sire. *Portunaris*, sire dieu. (*Vérart*, Ha sire de dieu benoist soyez vous.) *Lull*, a senyer Deus.

Caston.

¶ The knyght saye / Faire sone I am ¹an old man
 & feble / and may not forthon * moche longe lyue ¹ / And
 therfor this lytyl booke that is made for the deuocion /
 loyale / and the ordenaunce that a knyght ought to haue
 5 in holdynge his ordre / ye shall bere with yow to the
 Courte where as ye go vnto / and to shewe to alle them
 that will be made knyghtes ² / And whan ye shalle be
 newe doubte knyght / and ye shall retorne in to your
 cuntry / Come ageyne to this place / And lete me haue
 10 knowlege who they be / that haue ben maade newe
 knyghtes / and ³ shalle haue ben obeyssaunt to the
 doctryne of chyualrye ³ / Thenne the knyght gaf to
 thesqyer his blesynge / & he took leue of hym / and
 toke the booke moche deuoutely / And after mounted

The hermit
 asked the
 squire to
 present
 copies to
 all the new
 knights, and
 to tell him
 on his re-
 turn about
 his adven-
 tures at
 court.

[* p. 35]

Loutfut.

pe knyght said, "Fair son, I am ane ald man and
 feble and may not forthon moche lang lyv; and perfor
 pis litil buk pat is maid for pe deuocioun, loyale, and
 pe ordinans pat a knyght [oucht]^a to haf in halding his
 5 ordre, ye schal bere with yow to pe court quhar as 3e go
 on to & to schew to al them pat wil be maid knytis,
 and quhen 3e salbe new doubit knyght and 3e sal return
 in to 3our countre, cum agane to pis place and llat me
 haf knowlege quhow yhe be pat has bene maid new
 10 knyghtis, & schal haue bene obeisand to pe doctryn of
 cheualry." Pan pe knyght gef to pe squyer his blissing
 & * he tuk leif off him and tuk pe buk moche deuotlie,
 and eftir mounted til his palfra, and went furth hastely

[* fol. 85 b]

^a MS. all.

¹⁻¹ R. ie ne puis longuement viure car ie suy moult veil. *AJ.*
 ge suy veil et ne puis pas desoresmes moult viure. *Lull*, jo
 son pres de la mort e mos dies no son molts.

² MSS. add—nouueaulz. *R.* further adds—et le gardez si
 chierement que vous amez lordre de cheualerie: and *AJ.* add—
 et le gardez chierement Si vous amez lordre de cheualerie.

³⁻³ R. nauront este obeyssans a lordre de cheualerie et a sa
 doctrine. *AJ.* ne auront este obeissans a la doctrine de cheualerie.

Caxton.

The squire
at court
presented
copies to
the king
and the new
knights.

upon his palfroy / & went forth hastely to the courte /
And when he was comen / ¹he presented the booke
moche wysely and^e ordynatly to the noble kyng¹ / &
furthermore he offryd that euery noble man that wold be
in thordre of chyualry myght haue a cople of the sayd 5
book / ²to thende that he myght see & lerne thordre of
knyghthode and^e Chyualrye²

Hereafter
follow the
contents of
the little
book.
Semi-
mythical
account of
the origin of
knighthood.

* p. 35 b]

* ¶ The second Chapytre is of the begynnyng of
Chyualrye or knyghthode

WHan Charyte / Loyaulte³ / Trouthe⁴ Iustyce and^e 10
veryte fayllen in the world / thenne begynneth
cruelte / Iniurye / desloyalte and^e falsenes / And therefore
was erreure and^e trouble in the world / In whiche god^e

Loutfut.

to þe court. And quhen he wes cummyn, he presentid
þe buk moche wisely & ordinaly to þe noble king; and
forthermoir he offred þat euery noble man þat wald be
in thordre of cheualry mycht haf a copy of þe said buk,
to thend þat he mycht see & lern thordre of knyched & 5
cheualry.

The secound cheptour Is of þe begynnyng of cheualry
of knyched.

Quhen charyte, royaulte, t[r]ouþe,^a iustice ande veryte
fayllen in þe warld, þen begynneth cruelte, iniure, 10
deloyalte and falsnes. And þerfor wes errour and truble
in þe warld in quiche God has creatid man in intencioun

^a MS. thro þe.

¹⁻¹ *R.* se presenta au roy puis luy monstra le liuret que lancien
cheuallier luy auoit bailliet ouquel estoit escripte la doctrine de
lordre de cheuallerie. *AJ.* presenta le liure au noble roy.

²⁻² *R.* adfin que aucun effois regardast les points que appar-
tiennent a cheuallier et sur icelz enseignemens riglast sa vie et son
affaire. *A.* pour ce que aucun effois y lise voye et sache lordre
de cheualerie. (*J.* for "aucun effois" has the correct reading—
"aucune fois.")

³ *A.* Om.

⁴ Om.

Caston.

- hath created man in jntencion that of the man he be knowen and loued / doubted / serued / and honoured At the begynnyng whan to the world was comen mespryson / justyce retorneð by drede in to honour / in
 5 whiche she was wonte to be / And therfore alle the peple was deuydeð by thousandes / And of eche thousand was chosen a man moost loyal / most stronge / and of most noble courage / & better enseygned¹ and maner¹ than al the other / ¶ And after was enquyred and
 10 serched / what beest was moost couenable moost fayre / ²most couragious² and ³moost stronge to susteyne trauaylle³ / and moost able to serue the man / ¶ And thenne was founden / ⁴that the Hors was * the moost noble / and the moost couenable to serue man⁴ / And
 15 by cause that emōg alle the beestes the man chaas the hors / & gaf hym to this same man that was soo chosen

To safeguard justice, the noblest man in every thousand was chosen to be a knight, and was provided with a horse, the noblest beast, [^{*} p. 36]

Loutfut.

- pat of the man he be knowen and luffit, douttid, servit and honourit. At pe beginnyng quhen to pe world was cummyn mesprisioun, iustice retournyt by dred in to honour in quhiche she wes wont to be. And herefor al
 5 pe pepil wes diuidit by thousandis and of iche thousand wes choissin a man most loyal most strong & of most noble curage & bettir enseygned & manerit pan al pe opir. And eftir wes inquit and cerced quhat best wes most couenable, most fair, most curaioufs & most strong to
 10 susteyn travail, & most able to serf pe man. And pen wes fundin pat pe hors wes pe most noble & the most c[o]uenable^a for to serf man And bycaufs pat amang al pe beistis pe man chaas pe hors & gaf hym to pis samyn man, pat wes so choissin amang a thousand men, for

^a MS. ceuenable.

^{1—1} Om.

^{2—2} RJ. plus courant. A. plus seruant.

^{3—3} R. plus puissant. AJ. as Car.

^{4—4} A. Om.

Caſton.

amonge a thowsand men / For after the hors whiche
 is called Chyual in Frensshe is that man nameð Chyualler
 whiche is a knyght in Englyssh / ¹ Thus to the moost
 noble man / was gyuen the moost noble beest¹ / ¶ It
 behoueth after this / that ther shold be chosen alle the
 armures suche as ben most noble and moste couenable
 to batayll / and deffende the man fro dethe / And these
 armures were gyuen and appropreð to the knyght /
 ¶ Thenne who that wylle entre in to the ordre of
 chyualrye / he must thynke on the noble begynnyng
 of chyualrye / And hym behoueth that the noblesse of
 his courage² in good custommes² accorde to the be-
 gynnynge of chyualry / For yf hit were not soo / he shold
 be contrary to his ordre / and to his begynnynge / And
 therefore hit is not couenable thyng that thordre of
 chyualry receyue his enemyes in honoures / Ne them

and with
 the finest
 armour.

Remember-
 ing the
 glorious
 origin of
 his order,

a knight
 must not
 compound
 with evil.

Loutfut.

estir pe hors quiche is callid chyual in ff[re]nche is pat
 man namyt cheual[er]^a quich is a knyght in ynglis. Pus
 to pe most noble [m]a[n]^b wes giffin the most noble best.
 It behuffit estir pis pat pair suld be choissin al pe armes
 siche as bene most noble & maist couenable to batell
 and defend pe man fra *detht. And theise armes war
 giffin and ap[ro]priit^c to pe knyght.

[* fol. 86]

Den quho pat will entre in pe ordre of cheualry, he
 moste think on pe noble begynnynge of cheualrye and
 him behuffis pat pe nobilnes of his curage in gud
 customes accord to pe begynnynge of cheualry. For gif
 it war not so he suld be contrary to his ordre and to his
 begynnynge, and perfor it is not conue[n]able^d pat
 thordre of cheualry reteyn his enemys in honoris, ne

^a MS. cheualry.

^c MS. apprît.

^b MS. nam.

^d conuerable.

¹—¹ A. quant au plus noble fut donne la plus noble. *RJ.* as
Caſt.

²—² et de ses bonnes coutumes.

Cuxton.

that ben contrarye to his begynnyn*ges / loue and drede [p. 36b]
 begynnen ageynst hate and mesprysyon / And therefore
 hit behoueth / that the knyght by noblesse of courage
 and of noble customme and bounte and by the honour
 5 soo grete and soo hyhe that he is maade by election / by
 his hors / and by his armes be loued and doubted of
 the peple / And that by loue he recouere charyte and
 enseynement / And by fere recoure veryte and Iustyce /
 Of as moche as a man hath more of wytte and of vnder-
 10 standyng / and is of more stronger nature than a woman /
 Of soo moche may he [be]^a better than a woman / For
 yf he were not more¹ puyssaunt and dyfferent to be
 better than the woman / it shold ensiewe / that bounte
 and strengthe of nature were contrary to bounte of
 15 courage / and to good werkes / Thenne al thus as a

Man's
superiority
to woman
in intellect
and
strength
makes him
more
capable
of both
virtue and
vice.

^a C. Om.

Loutfut.

tha[m]^a pat be in contrary to his beginnyngis. Loue
 and dred beginnan aganis hate & mysprysyon and perfor
 it behuffit pat pe knyght by nobles of curage & of noble
 custom & bounte, and by pe honour so gret and so hich
 5 pat he is maid by electioun, by his hors and by his
 armes, be loued and doutid with pe pepill, and by loue
 he recover charit and enseiment, and by fere recover
 werite & justice.

Of as moche as a man haue more of wit, of vnder-
 10 standing, & is of moire strang natour pan a woman, of
 so moche may he [be]^b better pan a woman. For gif
 he war not more puyssaunt & different to be better
 pan the woman, it suld ensewe pat bounte & strenth
 of natur war contrary of bounte of curage and to good
 15 werkis. Den al pus as a man by pe natour is more

^a MS. nethan.

^b MS. Om.

¹ R. aussy. AJ. autant.

Caixon.

man by his nature is more apparaylled to haue noble
 courage / and to be better than the woman / In lyke
 wyse ¹moche more¹ enclyned to be vycious than a
 woman / For yf it were not thus / he shold not be
 worthy that he had gretter meryte to be good / more 5
 [* p. 37] than the woman / ¶ Beware thou * squyer that wol entre
 in to thordre of chyualry / what thou shalt doo / For
 yf thou be a knyght / thou receyuest honour and the
 seruytude that must be hadde vnto the frendes of
 chyualrye / For of soo moche as thou hast more noble 10
 begynnyng / and hast more honour / of soo moche arte
 thou more bonde and bounden to be good and agreable
 to god / and also to the peple / And yf thou be wycked /
 thou arte enemy of chyualry / and arte contrary to his
 commaundements and honours / So moche hye / and 15
 soo moche noble is thordre of chyualrye that it suffyseth
 not / that there be made knyghtes of the moost noble

A knight
 should be
 lord over
 many men.

Loutfut.

apparailled to haf noble curage and to be better pan pe
 woman, in likwifs moche more enclyned to be vicioufs
 pan a woman. For gif it war not pus, he suld not be
 worthi pat he had grettar merite to be gud more pan
 pe woman. Be war, pow squyer pat wil entre in to 5
 thordre of cheualry, pat pow sal do. For gif pow be
 a knyght, pow receyuest honour and pe seruitud pat
 most be had wnto pe frendis of cheualry. For of so
 moche as pow hast more noble beginnyng and hast more
 honour, of so moche art pow mair bonde and bondin 10
 * fol. 86 b] to be gud & agreable to God and alsuo to pe * pepill.
 And gif pow be wikit, pow art enemy of cheualry
 and art contrary to his commandmentis & honouris.

So moche hie & so moche noble is thordour of cheualry
 pat i[t]^a suffyseth not pat per be maid knyghtis of pe most 15

^a MS. is.

Caston.

persones / ne that ther shold be gyuen to them the
moost noble beeste / and the beste / the most noble
armures / and the beste only / But hym behoueth / & it
must be / that he be^a made lord of many men / For in
5 seynōrye is moche noblesse / & in seruytude as moche
of subiections / Thenne yf thou take thordre of knyght-
hode / & arte a vyle man and wycked / thou dost grete
Iniurye to all thy subgettis and to thy felawes that ben
good / For by the vylete in whiche thou^{*} arte / yf thou
10 be wycked / thou oughtest to be put vnder a serf¹ or
bonde man¹ / And by the noblesse of knyghtes that be
good it is judygne² & not worthy² that thou be called
a knyzt / Election ne hors ne armures³ suffyse not yet
to the hyghe honour whiche longeth to a knyght / but
15 it behoueth / that there be gyuen to hym a squyer &
seruaūt⁴ that may take hede to his horse⁴ / And hit

[* p. 37 b]

He must
be served
by a squire.

^a C. be be.

Loutfut.

noble personis, ne þat þer suld be giffin to þaim þe most
noble best and the best, þe most noble armys, and þe
best onely, bot him behuffit, and it most be, þat he be
maid lord of many men, for in senzeory is moche noblenes
5 and in seruitud as moche of subiection. Þen gif þow
tak thordre of knyghthed and art a wile man and wiked,
þow dois gret iniure to al þi subiectis & to þi fallowis
þat bene gud. For by the wilete in quhiche þow art
gif þow be wekit, þow auchest to be put wnder a serf
10 or bond man, and by þe nobilnes of knyghtes þat be
gud it is indigne and not worthi þat þow be callit a
knycht.

Election, ne hors, ne armes suffice not [ye]^a to þe
heigh honour quhiche longith to a knycht, bot it be-
15 houeth^b þat þer be giffin to him a squyer and servand
þat may tak hed to his hors and it behuffit also þat

^a MS. þat.

^b MS. behouest.

¹⁻¹ Om.

²⁻² Om.

³ MSS. add.—ne seignourie.

⁴⁻⁴ qui le seruent et prengnent garde de ses cheualz.

Carton.

and by the
common
people, who
till his land
while he
indulges
in sport.

Knights,
like clerks,
should learn
the duties
of their
office in
schools
before
ordination.

[* p. 38]

behoueth also that the comyn peple laboure the londres
for to brynge fruytes and goodes / whereof the knyght
and his beestes haue theyr lyuyng / And that the knyght
reste hym and be at seiourne after his noblesse / &
desporte hym vpon his hors for to hunte or in other 5
manere after that it shal please hym / & that he ease
hym / & delyte in thynges / of whiche his men haue
payne & trauayl / The clerkes studyen in doctryne &
seyence / how they may come knowe god & loue hym /
& his werkes / to thende that they gyue doctryne to the 10
peple laye & bestiall by good ensamples to knowe / loue /
serue & do honoure god oure glorious lord / For to
thende that they may ordynatly do these thynges / they
1 folowe and ensyewe¹ * the scoles / Thenne thus as the
Clerkes by honest lyf / by good ensample / and seyence² 15
haue gotten ordre and offyce tenclyne the peple to
deuocion and good lyf / Alle in lyke wyse the knyghtes

Loutfut.

the common pepill . . . and his bestis haf per lifing, and
pat pe knyght rest him and be at soirn eftir his
nobilnes, and disport him apou his hors ffor to hunt
or in opir maneris eftir pat it sall ples him, and pat he
eifs him and delit in thingis of quiche his men haf 5
payn and travail.

[* fol. 37]

pe clerkis studien in doctryn and sciens how pai may
conne knew God & love him and his werkis to thend
pat pai gif doctryn to pe pepill laye and bestiall, by good
ensamples to know, lufe, serf and do honour God, our 10
glorifous lord. For to thend pat pai may ordynatly do pis
thingis pai follow [and] ensyewe pe sculis. Then pus as
pe clerkis by honest lif by gud ensampil * and sciens haf
gottin ordour and office to inclyn pe peple to deuocioun
& gud lif, in al likwifs pe knyghtis by nobilnes of 15

¹—¹ suyuent.

² MSS. add—acquire.

Caxton.

by noblesse of courage and by force of armes mayntene
the ordre¹ of Chyualrye / And haue the same ordre / to
thende that they enclyne the smal peple by drede / by
the whiche the one doubte to doo wronge to the other /
5 The seynce and the scole of the ordre of Chyualrye / is
that the knyght make his sone to lerne in his yongthe
to ryde / ² For yf he lerne not in his yongthe² / he shalle
neuer lerne it in his olde age / And it behoueth / that
the sone of a knyght in the tyme that he is squyer can
10 take kepyng of hors / And hym behoueth that he
serue / and that he be fyrste subgette or he be lord /
For otherwyse shold he not knowe the noblesse of the
seygnory whan he shold be a knyght / And therfor euery
man that wylle come to knyghthode hym behoueth to
15 lerne / in his yongthe to kerue at the table / to serue³
to arme / and to adoube³ a knyght / for in lyke wyse

As it is, a
knight must
train his
son himself.

Loutfut.

courage and by force of armes maynten pe ordour of
cheualry, and haf pe sammyn ordour to thend pat pai
inclyn pe small pepill by dred, by pe quhiche the
[o]n[e]^a doubte to do wrang to pe othir. Pe sciens and
5 the scole of the ordour of cheualry is pat pe knyght
mak his son to lern in his zowcht to rid. For gif
he lern nocht in his zowcht, he sall neuer lern it in
his old age, and [i]t^b behuffis pat pe son of a knyght
in pe tym pat he is squyer can tak keping of hors. And
10 him behuffit pat he serue, and pat he be first subiect
or he be lord. For opirwifs suld be not knew pe
nobilnes of pe senzeory quhen he suld be a knyght.
And perfor euery man pat will cum to knyghthod him
behuffis to lern in his zowcht to kerff at pe table, to
15 serf, to arm and to do a-doube a knyght; for inlikwifs as

^a MS. wndoubte.

^b MS. at.

¹ *AJ.* ordre. *R.* ordene.

²⁻² *A.* Om.

³⁻³ *A.* and Paris MSS. et armer et adouber. *J.* a amer et a doubter. *R.* omits 13-15. (These lines do not occur in *Lull*.)

Caxton.

[* 1. ss b] as a mā wyl lerne to sewe for to be a tailleur / or * a
 Carpenter / hym behoueth that he haue a mayster that can
 sewe or hewe / Al in lyke wyse it behoueth that a noble
 man that loueth the ordre of chyualrye / and wyl be
 a knyght / haue fyrst a mayster that is a knyght / for 5
 thus as a discouenable thyng it shold be that a man that
 wold lerne to sewe shold lerne to sewe of a carpenter /
 Al in like wise shold it be a discouenable thyng that a
 squyer shold lerne thordre & the noblesse of chyualry of
 any other man than of a knyght / So moche is hye and 10
 honoured the ordre of chyualrye that to a squyer ne
 suffyseth not only^a to kepe hors and lerne to serue a
 knyght / and that he goo with hym to tornoyes and
 bataylles but hit is nedeful / that ther be holden to
 hym a scole of the ordre of knyghthode^b / & that 15
 the seynce were wretton in bookes / & that the arte
 were shewed and redde / in suche maner as other seynces
 ben redde / & that the sones of knyghtes lerne fyrst the

A plea for
 schools of
 chivalry.

^a C. only.

^b C. knyghthode.

Loutfut.

a man will lern to schaw for to be a tailjour or a
 carpentar, him behuffit *pat* he haf a maister *pat* can
 schew or hew, all in likwifs it behuffis *pat* a noble
 man, *pat* luffis pe ordour of cheualry and wilbe a knyht,
 haf first a maister *pat* is a knyght. For pus as a dis- 5
 couenable thing it suld be *pat* a man *pat* wald lern to
 sew of a carpentar . . ., all in likwifs suld it be a
 discouenable thing *pat* a squyer suld lern thordre and
 pe nobilnes of cheualry of any *opir* man pan of a knyht.

So moche i[s]^a hich and honorit pe ordour of cheualry 10
pat to a squyer ne sufficiet not only to keip hors, & lern
 to serf a knyght, and *pat* he go *with* him to tourneys and
 batellis, bot it is nedfull *pat* *per* be holdin to him a
 scule of pe ordour of knyghthod, and *pat* pe sciens war
 writtin in bukis, and *pat* pe art war schawed & red, 15
 and *pat* the sonnys of knyghtis lern first pe sciens *pat*

^a MS. it.

Carton.

seyence that apperteyneth to thordre of chyualry / &
 after that they were squyers they shold ryde thurgh
 dyuerse couñtres with the knyghtes / & yf ther were none
 errour in the* clerkes and in the knyghtes / vnneth shold
 5 ther be ony in other peple / For by the clerkes they
 shold haue deuocion and loue to god / And by the
 knyghtes they shold doubte to doo wronge / trayson and
 barate the one to another / Thenne sythe the clerkes
 haue maysters / and doctryne & go to the scoles for to
 10 lerne / And ther ben soo many seyences / that they ben
 wreton and ordeyned in doctryne / Grete wrong is done
 to the ordre of knyghthode / of this that it is not a
 seyence wreton and redde in scoles / lyke as the other
 seyences / And therfore he that maade this booke
 15 bysecheth to the noble kynge / and to alle the noble
 compayne of noble knyghtes / that ben in this Courte
 assembled in the honoure of chyualrye / that of the
 wrong that is done to hit may be amendyd and satis-
 faction done.

[* p. 39]

Loutful.

appertenys to thordre of cheualry. And *eftir pat pai
 war squyeris pai suld rid throuch diuerfs cuntreis with
 pe knyghtis. And gif per war non errour in pe clerkis
 and in pe knyghtis, wñeth suld per be ony in opir pepill.
 5 For by pe clerkis pai suld haf deuocioun and luf to God,
 and by pe knyghtis pai suld dout to do wrang, tresoun,
 & barret pe on to a-nother. Pen sith pe clerkis haf
 sic mastris & doctrine, & go to pe sculis for to lern,
 and per be so many sciences pat pai bene writtin and
 10 ordanit in doctrine ; gret wrong is done to pe ordour of
 knyghthod of pis, pat it is not a sciens writtin & red in
 sculis lik as pe vpir sciencis. And perfor he pat maid
 pis buk bisechit to pe noble king, & to al pe noble
 cumpany of knyghtis pat bene in pis cuntre assemblit
 15 in pe honour of cheualry, pat off pe wrong pat is done
 to it may be amendit and satisfacioun don.

[* fol. 37 v]

Caston.

¶ Of thoffice that apperteyneth to a knyzt

The dishonour
of a knight
who fails in
his duty.
[° p. 39 b]

The duties
of a true
knight—
1. He is a
defender of
the faith.

Offyce of a knyght is thende and¹ the begynnyng¹ /
wherfore began the ordre of chyualrye / Thenne yf a
knyzt vse not his offyce / he is contrarye to his ordre / &
to the begynnyng of chy^{*}ualrye to fore sayd : By the 5
whiche contraryete he is not a very knyght / how be hit
that he bere the name / For suche a knyght is more vyle
than the smythe or the carpenter / that done their offyce
after that they owe to doo & haue lerned² / The offyce
of a knyght is to mayntene and¹ deffende the holy feyth 10
catholyque / ² by the whiche god¹ the fader sente his sone
in to the world to take flesshe humayne in the glorious
vyrgyn oure lady saynt Mary² / And for to honoure &
multyplye the feythe suffryd¹ in this world¹ many trau-
aylles / despytes / & anguysshous deth / Thēne in lyke 15

Loutfut.

Off thoffice pat pertenyys to a knyht.

Office of a knyght is thend and pe beginnyng quharfor
began pe ordour of cheualry. Pen gif a knyght
wse not his office, he is contrary to his ordour & to pe
beginnyng of cheualry to-forsaid. To pe quhiche con- 5
trarite he is not a verray knyght, how be it pat he bere pe
nam, for such a knyght is moire vile pa[n]^a pe smyth or
pe carpentar pat done per office eftir pat pai aw to do and
haf lern-it.

To mayn-
tein & de-
fende pe
feith.

The office of a knyght is to mantein and defend pe holy 10
feith catholique, by pe quhiche God pe Fader sent his
Son in to pe world to tak flesche humane in pe glorious
Vergine, our Lady, Saint Mary, and to honour & multiply
pe feicht suffred in pis world mony trauellis, dispites, &
angwisious detht. Pen in likwifs as our Lord God has 15

* MS. pat.

¹ lintentior.² A. Om.

Carton.

wyse as our lord god hath chosen the clerkes for to mayntene
 tene þ^e holy feith catholike with scripture & resons ayest
 the ¹ mescreaūts & not bileuyng¹ / In lyke wise god of
 glory hath chosen knyȝtes / by cause þ^e by force of armes
 5 they vaynquysshē the mescreaūtes, whiche daily laboure
 for to destroye holy chirche / & suche knyȝtes² gōd
 holdeth them for his frendes honoured in this world / &
 in that other when they kepe & mayntene the feith by
 the whiche we entende³ to be saued / The knyȝt⁴ that
 10 hath no feythe⁴ / and vseth no feyth / & *is contrarye
 to them that mayntene it / is as thentendement of a
 man / to whome god hath gyuen reason and vseth the
 contrary / Thenne he that hath feithe / and is cōtrary
 to feythe / ⁵and will be saued / he doth ageynst hym
 15 self / For his wylle accordeth to mescreaunce / whiche

[* p. 40]

Loutfut.

choissin þe clerkis for to manteine þat holy fetht catholik
 with scripture & resons aganis þe mescreants and not by
 *leving, inlikwifs God of glorye has choissin knyghtis by
 5 caufs þat by fors of armes þai vencust þe myscreauntes
 quhich daly labouris for to distroy holy chirche; & siehe
 knyghtis God haldis þaim for his frendis, honored in þis
 world and in þat opir, quhen þai keip & mantein þe
 fecht by þe quhiche we intend to be saiffid. Þe knyght
 at has no fecht and wsit no fecht and [is]^a contrary to
 10 þem þat mantained it, is thenetendment of a man to
 quham God has giffin resoun and vseth þe contrary. Þen
 he þat has fecht, and is contrary to fecht, and wilbe
 savyt, [he] do[is]^b aganest him self, for his will accordis
 to myscreance, quhich is contrary to fecht and to þe

[• fol. 88]

^a MS. to.

^b MS. to doo.

¹⁻¹ mescreans.

² MSS. add—qui ainsy defendent la foy catholique.

³ J. entendon. AR. attendons.

⁴⁻⁴ qui a foy.

⁵⁻⁵ A. Om.

Carton.

The noblest
offices are
those of
clerks and
knights,
who should
work
together
without
jealousy.

is contrary to feith⁵ and to the sauacion / By the whiche
mescreaunce a man is Iuged to tormentis infynytes &
perdurable / ¹ Many there ben / that haue offyces whiche
god hath gyuen to them in this world / to thende / that
of hym he shold be serued¹ / & honoured / but the most 5
noble & the most honourable offyces that ben / ben
thoffyces of clerkes & of knyghtes / And therfor the
grettest amytye that shold be in this world / ouzt to be
bitwene the knyghtes & clerkes / Thenne thus as clerkes
be not ordeyne of their clergy p^t they be ayenst 10
thordre of chyualry / Also knyghtes maintene not by
thordre of chyualry them p^t be contrary² to the clerkes
which ben bounden to loue & mayntene thordre of
chyualry / Thordre is not gyuen to a man for that he
shold loue his ordre only / but he ouzt to loue the other 15
ordres For* to loue one ordre / and to hate another / is
nothyng to loue ordre / For god hath gyuen none ordre

[* p. 40 b]

Loutfut.

savacioun. By pe quhiche myscreaunce, a man is jugit to
tormentis infinitis and perdurable.

Many per bene pat has officis quhiche God has giffin to
pam in pis world to thend pat of him he suld be servit &
honored, bot pe must honorable officis^a pat bene bene 5
thofficis of clerkis & of knyghtis. And perfor pe grettast
amyeye pat suld be in pis world aucht to be bytween pe
knyghtis & clerkis. pen pus as clerkis be not ordaned of
per clergy pat pai be ay[en]st^b pe ordour of cheualry,
also knyghtis mantene not by thordre of cheualry p[am]^c 10
pat be contrary to pe clerkis, quhiche bene bondin til luf
& mantein thordour of cheualry. Thordre is not giffin to
na man for pat he suld luf his ordour only, bot he aucht
to luf pe opir ordour. For to luf on ordre and to hate ane
othir is nothing to luf ordour. For God has giffin non 15

To honour
al opir
ordouris
& estatis.

^a MS. office is.

^b MS. ay nest.

^c MS. pen.

¹⁻¹ *AJ.* Plusieurs sont les offices que dieu a donnees en ce monde
pour ce que de homme soit serui. (*R.* has "ont" for "sont.")

² MSS. add—et desobeissant.

Cuxton.

that is contrarie to other ordre / Thenne thus as the
 relygious that loueth not soo moche his owne ordre /
 that he is enemy of an other ordre / he foloweth not ne
 ensieweth the rule of thordre / Thus a knyght loueth
 5 not thoffyce of a knyght that so moche loueth and preyseth
 his owen ordre / that he myspryseth and hateth other
 ordre / For yf a knyght loued the ordre of Chyualry /
 and destroyed somme other ordre / hit shold seme that
 the ordre shold be contrary to god / the whiche thyng
 10 may not be / syth he hath establysshed ordre / So
 moche noble is cheualrye / that euery knyght oughte to
 be governour of a grete countre or lond / But there ben
 soo many knyghtes / that the lond maye not suffyse
 to sygnefye that one ouzt to be lord of al thynges /
 15 Themperour ouzt to be a knyzt & lord of a knyghtes /
 but by cause þ^t theperour may not by him self gouerne
 al kniȝtes hym behoueth that he haue vnder hym kynges

2. As every
 knight can-
 not govern
 a land,

degrees of
 knighthood
 are estab-
 lished from
 the Emperour
 downwards.

Loutfut.

ordour þat is contrary to othir ordour. Then þus as þe
 religious þat luffit nocht so moche his awyn ordre þat he
 is enemy of ane opir ordour, he followis not [n]^e* ensieith
 þe reull of þe thordre; þus a knyght luffis not thoffice of
 5 a knyght þat so moche luffis & prisith his awin ordre
 þat he myschprisit & hatith opir ordre. For gif a knyght
 luffed þe ordre of cheualry & distroyd sum opir ordre, it
 suld seym þat þe ordre suld be contrary to god, þe quhiche
 thing ma not be syth he has a-stablißsed ordour.
 10 So moche noble [is]^b cheualry þat euery knyght aucht
 to be governour of a gret cuntre or land. *Bot þer bene
 so mony knyghtis þat þe land may nocht suffice to signify
 þat one aucht to be a knyght & lord of al thingis. The
 emperour aucht to be a knyght & lord of al þe knyghtis.
 15 Bot becaufs þat þe emperour ma nocht be him self govern
 al knyghtis, him behuffis þat he haf vnder him kingis þat

[* fol. 88 b]

* MS. þe.

^b MS. Om.

Caxton.

* p. 41] that ben knyghtes / to thende / that they ayde & helpe
to mayntene thordre of Chy*ualry / And the kynges
oughte to haue vnder them / ¹dukes / Erles / vycoūtes
and̄ other lordes¹ / And vnder the barons ought to be
knyghtes² / whiche ought to gouerne hem after the 5
ordynaunce of the barons / whiche ben in the hye
degree of chyualry to fore nameð / for to shewe the excel-
lence / seynorye / power and̄ wysedome of oure lord̄
god̄ glorious / whiche is one only god̄ in Trynyte /
and̄ can and̄ may gouerne alle thynges / wherefore hit 10
is not thyng couenable / that a knyght allone shold̄
by hym self gouerne alle the people of thys world̄ /
For yf one knyght allone myght so do / the seynorye /
the power & wysedom of god shold not be so wel
sygnefyeð / And̄ therefore for to gouerne alle the 15
peples that ben in the world̄ / god wyl / that ther be
many knyghtes / of whome he is gouernour only / lyke

Loutfut.

Of þe estat̄is
of knyghtis.

bene knyghtis to thend þat pai ayed & help to manten
thordre of cheualry. And þe kingis aucht to haf vnder
þaim dukis erllis vicontes & opir lordis. And vnder the
barons aucht to be knyghtis quhich aucht to govern him
eftir þe ordinans of þe barons, quhich bene in þe hey 5
degre of cheualrye [to-for-]^a named, for to schew þe ex-
cellence, senzeory, power and wisdom of our Lord gloriously,
quhiche is one only God in Trinite, and can & may govern
al þingis. Quharfor it is not thing couenable þat a knyght
allon suld by him self govern al þe peple of þis world. 10
For gif a knyght allon mycht so do, þe senzeory, þe
power, þe wisdom of God suld noch be sa weill signifid.
And perfor for to govern al þe peples þat ben in þe
world, God will þat per be mony knyghtis, of quham he is
þat a knyght governour only, lik as it is said at þe beginning. And þan 15

^a MS. for to.

¹⁻¹ JR. contes viscontes ducz princes et vauassours. (A. has
"barons" for "vauassours.")

² MSS. add—dung escu.

Caston.

- as it is sayd atte begynnyng / And thēne kynges & prynces which make prouostes & baillyes of other persones than of knyghtes done ayenst thoffyce of chyualry / for the knyght is more worthy to haue the seignourye ouer
 5 the peple / than any other man / & by thonour of his * offyce ought be done to hym more gretter honour / than
 any other man that hath not so an honourable offyce / & by thonour that he receyueth of his ordre / he hath noblesse of herte / & by noblesse of courage ¹ he is the
 10 lasse enclyned to doo a vylaynous fait or dede¹ than another man / ¶ Thoffyce of a knyght is to mayntene and deffende / his lord ² worldly or terrien² / ³ for a kyng ne no hylie baron³ hath no power to mayntene ryztwysnes in his men without ayde & helpe / Thenne-yf any
 15 man do ageynst the commādemēt of his kyng or prynce /

Kings ought to choose their prouosts and bailiffs only from knights.

[* p. 41 b]

3. A knight defends his lord and maintains justice

Loutfut.

- kingis & princis quliche mak preuestis ande bailleis of opir personis pan of knychte[s],^a done aganis pe office of cheualry. For pe knyght is more worthi to haf pe senzeory our pe peple pan any opir man, and be honour
 5 of his office aucht be done to him mair gretter honour pan any opir man pat has not so ane honorable office. And be honour pat he resaiffis of his ordre, he has noblesse of hart, and by noblesfs of curage he is pe lasse enclyned to do a velaynous falt or ded pan ane opir man.
 10 The office of a knyght is to mantein and defend his lord worldlie or tirane, for a king ne no hiche baron has no powere to manteine rychtwysnes in his men without ayd and help. Then [i]f^b any man do aganis pe commandment of his king or prince it behuffit pat pe knyghtis aid

suld rather bere office pan ane opir man.

How a knyght aw to defend his prince or lord.

^a MS. knyghted.

^b MS. of.

¹⁻¹ se encline moins et plus a tard a tricherie mauuaistie et a vilains fais.

²⁻² terrien.

³⁻³ R. car roy prince ne hault baron. A. car roy ne hault baron. J. car roy ne nul hault baron. Lull, cor Rey ni princep ni nul alt baron.

Carton.

it behoueth that the knyghtes ayde their lord / whiche
 is but a man only as another is / & therfor the euy
 knyght ¹ whiche sooner helpeth another man that wold
 put doun his lord ¹ fro the seignory þ^t he ouȝt to haue
 vpon him he foloweth not thoffyce by which he is called 5
 a knyȝt / By the knyȝtes ouȝt to be mayntened & kept
 justyce / for in lyke wyse as the juges haue thoffyce to
 jüge / in lyke wyse haue the knyȝtes thoffice for to kepe
 them ² fro vyolēce ² / in exercysyng the fayt of iustyce yf
 it myȝt be that chyualry & clergy assēbled them to gyder 10
 in such maner þ^t * knyȝtes shold be l[e]rēd ^a / so þ^t by
 scyēce they were suffysaūt to be juges / none office sholde

Knights
 would make
 excellent
 judges if
 they were
 larned
 enough.
 [* p. 42]

^a C. lređ (= lerned).

Loutfut.

per lord quhich ^a is bot a man on[l]y ^b as a-nopir is.
 And perfor þe euell knycht quhich sone[r] ^c helpis ane
 opir man þat wald put doun / * his lord fra þe senȝeory
 þat he oucht to haf wpon him, he followis not þe office
 be quhich he is callit a knycht. 5

[* fol. 89]

By þe knychtis ouȝt to be ma-yntened & kept iustice,
 for in likwifs as þe jugis has þe office to jüge, in likwifs
 has þe knychtis þe office for to keip paim fra violence in
 exersing þe fait ^d of iustice. Gif it be mycht þat cheualry
 & clergy assembled paim to-gidder in suche man[er] ^e 10
 þat knychtis suld be frend,^f so þat by sciens pai war
 sufficient to be iugis non office suld be so couenable to be

^a MS. quchich.

^b MS. ony.

^c MS. soneth.

^d MS. faith.

^e MS. man.

^f Loutfut misread C.

¹⁻¹ R. quy plustost ayde a ung homme du peuple que a son seigneur ou quy veult dessaisir son seigneur. *AJ.* qui plustost aide a un home du peuple que a son seignour ou quil veult estre seignour et viult dessaisir son seigneur. (After "helpe," in p. 29, l. 13, *J.* alone has—"Doncques chacun homme est au commandement de son roi et de son seigneur.")

²⁻² R. de iniure et de violence. *AJ.* de force et de violence.

Caxton.

be so couenable to be a juge as chyualry ¹for he that by
 justyce may best be holden ¹is more couenable to be a
 juge than any other ²Knyztes ouzt to take coursers to
 juste & to go to tornoyes / to holde open table / to hūte
 5 ³at herthes / at bores & other wyld bestes ³ / For in
 doynge these thynges the knyztles excercyse them to
 armes / for to mayntene thordre of knyzthode Theñe to
 mesprise & to leue p^e custom ⁴of p^t which p^e knyzt is
 most apparailled to vse his office is but despising of
 10 thordre / & thus as al these thynges afore said apperteyne
 to a knyzt as touching his body / in lyke wise justice /
 wysedom / charite loyalte / verite / humylite / strength
 hope swiftnes & al other vertues seblable apperteyne to a
 knyzt as touchyng his soule / & therfor the knyzt that

4. A knight
 must hunt
 and exercise
 himself in
 arms,

but he
 must not
 neglect the
 virtues that
 embellish
 the soul.

Loutfut.

a juge as cheualry. For he pat be justice ma best be
 haldin is mare couenable to be a juge pan any opir.

Knychtis ouzt to tak coursers to just, & to go to
 tournais, and to hald open table, to hont at hartis, at
 5 beres, & opir wild bestis, for in doing pis thingis pe
 knychtis excercis paim to armes for to mantein pe ordour
 of knycthed. Pen to mesprise & to luff pat custom of
 pat quhich pat knycht is most appareld to vse his office
 is but dispising of thordre. And pus as al pis thingis
 10 a-fore-said appertenyth to a knycht as tuiching his bodi,
 in likwifs iustice, wisdom, charite, loyalte, verite, hu-
 milite, strength, hope, swiftnes, & al opir vertuys sem-
 blable apperteyn to a knycht as tuiching his saull. And

How a
 knyght suld
 wifa him to
 justing
 toerna-
 mentis & to
 hont at gret
 bestis.

¹⁻¹ Car celui par quy iustice pent mieulz estre tenue. In *A.*
 "iustice" is accidentally omitted.

² *R.* adds—mais quil fust pourveu de science comme dit est.
A. adds—Et mesmement sil estoit tant letre que par science
 peust estre Juge. *J.* adds—Et mesmement sil estoit tant letre
 que par science fust souffisant a estre juge, car sans science nul
 home nest digne destre juge.

³⁻³ *R.* aux cerfs aux porcs senglers aux lieures aux conins et
 autres saulmagines. *AJ.* aux cerfs aus conins aux porcs sengliers
 aux lousps (*J.* om.) aux lions et aux autres bestes semblables.

⁴ *MSS.* add—et usage.

Caxton.

vseth the thynges þ^e apperteyne to thordre of chyualry
 as touchyng his body / & hath none of these vertues that
 apperteyne to chyualry touchyng his soule is not the
 frende of thordre of knyghthode. For yf hit were thus /
 that he maade separacion of the vertues aboue sayd / 5
 [• p. 42 b] ¹sa*yenge that they apperteyne not to the soule / and to
 thordre of chyualrye to gyder¹ / jt shold^e signefye that
 the body & chyualrye / were bothe two to gyder con-
 trarye to the soule and to these vertues / and that is fals /
 Thoffyce of a knyght is to mayntene the londe / for by 10
 cause that the drede of the comyn people haue of the
 knyghtes / they laboure & cultyue the erthe / for fere /
 leste / they shold^e be destroye^d / And by the drede of the
 knyghtes / they redoubte the kynges / prynces and
 lordes / by whome they haue theyr power / But the 15
 wycked knyght that aydeþ not his erthely lord^e and
 5. Knights
 make the
 peasants
 till the soil.
 Thus they
 uphold the
 authority
 of their
 superiors.
 A knight
 who does
 not help
 his lord

Loutfut.

þerfor þe knyght þat wseth the thingis þat appertenys to
 thordre of cheualry as twichyng his body and hath nan of
 þis vertais þat appertenys to [cheualry]^a twichyng his soul
 is not þe frend of thordre of knyghthod. For gif it war
 þus þat he maid separacion of þe vertues abon said, 5
 saying þat þai apperten not to þe soul & to thordre of
 cheualry to-gidder, it suld signify þat þe bodi & cheualry
 war both two to-gidder contrary to þe saul & to þis
 vertues ; and þat is fals.

The office of a knyght is to manten þe land, for by 10
 caufs þat þe dred of þe common people has of þe knyghtis
 þai labour & cultyv þe erd for fer lest þai suld be dis-
 troyd. And by dred of þe knyghtis þai redoube þe
 kingis, princis & lordis be quham þai haf þer powere.
 Bot þe wikit knyght þat ay dois not help to his erdly 15

^a MS. Om.

¹⁻¹ J. and V^{érart} have the same as Cax. A. omits "a lame
 et." R. disant quil nappartient pas que les vertus de lame et
 celles du corps touchant lordre de cheuallerie fussent ambedeux.

Carton.

- naturel countrey / ageynst another prynce / is a knyght
 withoute offyce / And is lyke vnto faith withoute werkes
 and lyke vnto mysbyleue / which is ayenst the feyth
 ¶ Thenne yf suche a knyght folowe thoffyce of chyualrye /
 5 in destournyng hym self and not to ayde his lord / Suche
 a knyght and his ordre shold doo wronge to that knyght /
 whiche fyghteth vnto the deth for Iustyce and for to
 mayntene and deffende his lord / Ther is no offyce that is
 ofte made / but that it may be dyffeated / For *yf that
 10 whiche is made myght not be dyffeated ¹ / that shok be
 a thyng semblable to god whiche is not ne may not be
 deffeated ne destroyed ² / Thenne as thoffice is made &
 ordeyned of god / and is mayntened by them that loue
 thordre of chyualry / ³by cause ³ the wycked knyght
 15 that loueth ⁴ not the ordre of Chyualrye defeate a knyght
 in hym self / but the euyl kyng or prynce that diffeateh

resembles
faith with-
out works
and defeats
his order.

Only God
cannot be
defeated.
[* p. 43]

Loutfut.

- lord & n[at]ural ^a contre aganis an opir prince is a knyght
 without office. And is lik vnto faith without werkis,
 and like / * wnto mysbeleue quhilk [is] ^b aganis pe feith. [^a fol. 89 b]
 Than gif sic a knyght fallow to office of cheualry in des-
 5 tournyng him self, and not to ayd his lord, suche a
 knyght and his ordre suld do wrong to pat knyght wiche
 fyghteth wnto pe deith for justice & for to manteine &
 defend his lord. Thar is no office pat is ofte mad bot
 pat it may be defayted, for gif pat quhiche is maid mycht
 10 nocht be defayted, pat suld be a thing semblable to God
 quhich is not na ma nocht be defayted ne distroyd.
 Than as thoffice is maid & ordanyt of God, & is man-
 tained be pain pat loue thordour of cheualry, becaus
 pe wikit knyght pat luffit not the ordour of cheualry
 15 defeate a knyght in him self. Bot pe evil king or prince
 pat defeateh in him self thordre of cheualry, [h]e ^c

^a MS. nural.

^b MS. Om.

^c MS. be.

¹ defeat ne destruit.

² R. adds—car onques ne fut fait.

³⁻³ pour ce.

⁴ JR. ayment. A. gouuernent.

Carton.

Wicked
princes by
their evil
example
seduce
others

and cast
them out of
chivalry.

A prince is
highly to be
praised who
will not be
guided by
evil coun-
sellors,
[* p. 43 b]

in hym self thordre of chyualry he diffeateth it not only in
hym self but he diffeateth it in þ^e knyȝtes þ^t ben put
vnder hym / the whiche done that whiche apperteyneth
not to a knyght by the wycked Eusample of their lord /
soo that by desloyal flaterye they be loued of hym / 5
¶ And by this reason the wycked prynces ben not al only
contrarye to the ordre and offyce of Chyualrye to theire
Persones / but they ben also to them that ben submyself
to them / in whome they defeate the ordre of Chyualrye /
Thenne yf to caste a knyght oute of chyualrye is grete 10
cruelte and grete wyckednesse / Moche more grete def-
faulte is for to cast many oute of chyualrye / whan ony
noble prynce or hyhe baron hath *in his Courte or in his
companye wycked knyghtes / fals and traytours that
neuer fynyshe to admoneste hym that he do wycked- 15
nesse / barate / traysons / & extorcions to his trewe
subgettis / And the good prynce by the strengthe of his

Loutfut.

deffeateth it not only in him self, bot he deffeateth it in
pat knyghtes pat bene put vnder him, þe quhiche don
pat quhiche appertenyt not to a knyght by þe wiked
ensample of þe lord, so pat by disloyal flattery pai be
loued of him. And by þis reson þe wiked princis bene 5
nocht al only contrarye to þe ordre & office of cheualry to
þe persones, bot pai bene also to them pat bene sub-
myssed to them in quhom pai defeate the ordre of
cheualry. Thenne gyf to caste a knyght out of cheualry
i[s]^a gret cruelte & gret wicketnes, moche more gret def- 10
fault is for to caste mony oute of cheualry. Quhen ony
noble prince or hie baroun has in his court or in his
company wiked knyghtis, fals & tratouris, pat near fynysis
to admonest him pat he do wicketnes, barat, tresoun &
extorsions to his trewe subditis, and þe gud prince by þe 15

* MS. it.

Caxton.

noble courage / & by the grete loue ¹ and loyalte ¹ / that
 he hath to Chyualrye ² surmounteth them / vaynquyssheth
 and destroyeth by cause that in hymself he destroyeth
 not chyualrye / Moche grete strengthe of courage and
 5 grete noblesse hath suche a lord in hym self / And gretely
 is he the frende of Chyualrye / whan he taketh venge-
 aunce of suche enemyes that wold take from hym / and
 plucke aweye the wele and honoure of chyualrye / and
 corrupte his noble courage / yf chyualrye were more
 10 stronge of body / than in strengthe of courage / ordre of
 Chyualrye shold more accorde to the body than to the
 soule And yf it were so ³ the body shold be more noble
 than the soule / but that is openly fals ³ / Thenne nob-
 lesse of courage may not be vaynquysshed of man / ne
 15 surmounted / ne of alle the men that ben whan she is in
 her ryght strengthe / ¶ And whanne a bo*dy is lyghtly

but who
takes
vengeance
on them.

6. A knight
is brave.
Courage is
superior to
bodily
strength
because
it is a
spiritual
quality.

[* p. 44]

Loutfut.

strenth of his noble curage, and by þe gret loue and
 loyalte þat he has to cheualry, surmonteth them, vayn-
 quysseth and distroyeth, bycaufs þat in him self he
 distroyth not cheualry, moche gret strenth of curage and
 5 gret noblesse has suche a lord in him self, and gretly is
 he þe frend of cheualry, quhen he takis vengeans of sic
 enemys þat wold tak fra him & prucke aweye the well &
 honour of cheualry, & corrupt his noble curage.

Gif cheualry war mair strong of body þan in strenth of
 10 curage, ordre of[f]^a cheualry suld mair accord to þe body
 þan to þe soule. And gif it war so þe body suld be
 more noble þan þe saull. Bot þat is oppinly fals. Þan
 noblenes of curage ma nocht be vengust of man, nee
 sourmonted, ne of al þe men þat bene quhen she is in her
 15 rycht strenth. And whanne^b a body is lichtly takin &

^a MS. or.

^b MS. whanne of.

¹⁻¹ A. Om.

² A. adds—et par laide que lui fait cheualerie (not in *Lull*).

³⁻³ A. Om.

Carton.

taken / and vaynquysshed of another / hit appiereth wel
 that the courage of man is more stronge and noble / than
 the body / ¶ And by suche manere a knyght that is in
 bataylle with his lord / And for lacke of courage fleeth
 fro the bataylle whan nede shold be that he shold ayde / 5
 Therfor he that more redoubteth or fereth the torment or
 peryll of his body than of his courage and vseth not
 thoffyce of Chyualrye / ne is not seruauant ne obeyssaunt
¹ to other honoures / but is ageynste the ordre of chy-
 ualrye / whiche was bygonne by noblesse of courage ¹ / 10
 yf the lasse noblesse of courage shold accorde better to
 the ordre of chyualrye / than the gretter / vnto Chyualry
 shold accorde slouth of herte / ² & Cowardyse ² ageynste
 hardynesse / and strengthe of courage /

¶ And yf hit were thus / slouth and Cowardyse 15

Loutfut.

vencust of a-nothir, it apperis wele pat pe curage of man
 is more stronge & noble pan pe body. And by sic maner
 a knyght pat is in batell with his lord, and for lake of
 curage fleith fro pe batell quhen ned suld be pat he suld
 ayd; therfor he pat more redoutis or f[e]reth^a pe torment 5
 or perell of his body pan of his courage, & vseth nocht
 thoffice of cheualry, no is not servant no obeyssaunt to
 opir honours, bot is aganis the ordre of cheualry, quiche
 was bigone^b be nobleis of curage. Gif pe lasse nobles
 of curage suld accord better to pe ordour of cheualry pan pe 10
 gretter, unto cheualry suld accord slouth of hert and
 cowardice aganis hardynes and strenth of curage. And
 gif it war pus, slouth & cowardice suld be thoffice of a

pat a knyght
 is bund
 not to fle in
 batell fro his
 prince no
 his moster.

^a MS. for reth.

^b MS. bigone ne.

¹⁻¹ *R.* a autres honnourer car il fait contre lordre de cheualerie
 quy fut commencee par noblesse de courage. *A.* a l'onneur
 ordre de cheualerie qui fut commence par noblesse de franc
 courage. (Thus in *Lull*, without "franc.") *J.* au tresnoble
 ordre de cheualerie qui—etc., as in *A.*

²⁻² *A.* Om.

Caxton.

shold be thoffyce of a knygt / And hardynesse and strengthe of courage shold dysordeyne the ordre of chyualry

¶ Thenne how be hit alle the contrarye

- 5 ¶ Therefore a noble knyghte that loneth * Chyualrye / how moche lasse he hath ayde^a of his felawes / and lasse of armes and lasse to deffende / So moche more hym behoueth tenforce hym self to haue thoffyce of a knyght by hardynesse of a stronge courage / and of noble apparence¹
- 10 ageynste them that ben contrarye to chyualry / And yf he deye for to mayntene chyualry thenne he acqyureth chyualrye in that / in whiche he maye the better loue and serue hit / For chyualry abydeyth not soo agreeably / in no place as in noblesse of courage / And no man may
- 15 more honoure and loue Chyualrye / ne more for hym maye not be do / than that deyeth for loue & for to honoure the ordre of chyualrye / Chyualrye and hardynesse may not accorde without wytte and discrecion / And yf

The more a knight is hard pressed, the braver he should be.
[* p. 44 b]

If he is killed, he pays to chivalry the highest honour.

Courage should always be tempered by discretion.

^a C. hathayde.

Loutfut.

- knycht. And hardynes & strent^h of curage suld dysordeyn pe ordre of cheualry. Than how be it al pe contrary. Tharfore a noble knyht pat loueth cheualry, how moche lasse he [hath ayde]^a of his felawes & lasse of
- 5 armes & lasse to defend, so moche more him behuffit thenforce him self to haf thoffice of a knyght by hardynes of a stronge curage and of noble apparence aganis pem pat bene contrarie to cheualrye. And gif he deye for to manteine cheualry, pan he acquireth cheualry in pat in
- 10 quiche he may pe better loue & serue it. For cheualry abidis not so agreeably in no place as in nobles of curage. And na man may mor honour & loue cheualry, ne more for him may not be do, than that deythe for loue & for to honour thordour of cheualry.

Nota of a knyght pat deyth in defens of cheualry.

- 15 Cheualry & hardynes may not accord without witt &

^a MS. pat had.

¹ JA. esperance. Lull. sperança. R. experience.

Carton.

hit were thus that folye and ygnoraunce accorded therto /
 wytte and discrecion shold be contrary to the ordre of
 chyualrye / And that is thyng Impossyble / by whiche is
 openly sygnefyed to the knyght / that thow hast grete
 loue to the ordre of chyualrye / That al in lyke wyse as 5
 Chyualrye by noblesse of courage hath made the to haue
 * hardynesse / so that thow doubttest no peril ne deth / by
 cause thow myghtest honoure chyualry / In lyke wyse hit
 behoueth that thordre of chyualry make the to loue
 wysedom / by whiche thow mayst loue and honoure the 10
 ordre of chyualrye / ageynst the disordynaūce and
 deffaulte that is in them that wene to ensiewe and
 folowe the ordre of Chyualry by folye and ygnoraunce /
 and withoute entendement / Thoffyce of a knyght is to
 mayntene and deffende wymmen / wydowes and orphanes / 15
 and men dyseased and not puyssaunt¹ ne stronge¹ / For

[* p. 46]

7. A knight
 defends the
 weak and
 helpless.

Loutfut.

discrecioun. And gif it wer pus pat folye and ignorance
 accorded perto, wit & discrecioun * suld be contrary to
 pe ordre of cheualry, and pat is thing impossible. By
 quhiche is oppinly signified to pe, knyght, pat [t]how^a hast
 gret loue to pe ordre of cheualry; pat in all likwys as 5
 cheualry by noblesse of courage has maid pe to haf hardy-
 nes so pat thow dows no perell no deth, by caufs *pon*
 mychest honour cheualry, in likwys it behuffit pat pe
 ordre of cheualry mak pe to loue wisdom, by quhiche *pon*
 mast loue & honour thordre of cheualry aganis pe 10
 dishordinans and diffault pat is in paim pat wene to
 ensiewe & follow thordre of cheualry by foly & ignorans
 & without entendement.

A knyght is
 bone to help
 wedowis
 madenys
 and al
 opiris pat
 mysteris
 help.

Thoffyce of a knyght is to manteine & defend wemen,
 wedowis & orphanis, & men dyseased, & not puyssaund 15

^a MS. how.

Carton.

lyke as customme and reason is / that the grettest and
moost myghty helpe the feble and lasse / and that they
haue recours to the grete / Ryght soo is thordre of
chyualry / by cause she is grete / honourable and myghty /
5 be in socoure and in ayde to them that ben vnder hym /
and lasse myghty / and lasse honoured than he is Thenne
as it is soo that for to doo wrong and force to wymmen
wydowes that haue nede of ayde / And orphelyns that
haue nede of gouernaunce / And to robbe and destroye
10 the feble that haue nede of strengthe * And to take away [* p. 45 b]
fro them that is gyuen to them / These thynges may not
accorde to thordre of chyualry / For this is wyckednesse /
cruelte & tyranny / ¹ & the knyght that in stede of these
vyces is ful of vertues / he is dygne & worthy to haue
15 thordre of chyualry ¹ / And al in lyke wyse as god hath
gyuen eyen to the werk man ² for to see to werke / Ryght

Loutfut.

ne strong. For lik as custome & resoun is *pat* þe grettast
& mast *mychti* help the feble & lasse, & thayt *pai* haf
recours to þe grett; *rycht* soo as thordre of cheualry, by
caufs she is grett honorable & *mychti*, be in succour &
5 in ayd to *paim pat* ben vnder him, & lasse *mychti* &
lasse honored þan he is. Then as it is so that for to do
wrong & force to wymen, wedowis *pat* haue neid of aid,
and orphanys *pat* haue neid of governans, & to robbe &
distroy þe feble *pat* haue neid of strent^h, and to tak away
10 fro *paim pat* is giffin to þem—thes thingis ma not accord
to thordre of cheualry. For þis is wikitnes, cruelty &
tiranny, & þe *knycht pat* in sted of thes vices i[s]^a full of
vertues, he is digne & worthi to haue thordre of cheualry.
And all in lik wifs as God has giffin eyen to a . . . synnar

^a MS. in.

¹⁻¹ *AJ*. Et le cheualier qui a en lui telz vices, et lui et son
ordre sont contraires a loiaute et a iustice et especialement a
noblesse de cheualerie. (So in *Lull*.) *R*. has "est contraire" for
"et lui . . . contraires."

² *JA*, menesterel. *R*. l'homme,

Caston.

so he hath gyuen eyen to a synnar / to thende that he
 bywepe his synnes / And lyke as god hath gyuen to hym
 an herte / to thende that he be hardy by his noblesse /
 So ought he to haue in his herte / mercy ¹ / And that
 his courage be enclyned to the werkes of myserycorde 5
 and of pyte / That is to wete / to helpe and ayde them
 that al wepyng requyre of the knyghtes ayde and
 mercy / and that in them haue their hope / Thenne
 knyghtes that haue none eyen / by whiche they may
 see the feble & not strong / ne haue not the herte ne 10
 myzt² by whiche they maye recorde the nedes of the
³myschaüt and nedy³ peple ⁴ben not worthy to be in
 thordre of Chyualry ⁴ / yf chyualrye / whiche is so moche
 an honourable offyce / were to robbe and to destroye the
 [* p. 46] * poure peple and not myghty / and tengyne and doo 15
 wronge to good⁵ wymmen / wydowes / ⁶that haue

Loutfut.

to thend pat he byweip his synnys, and lik as God has
 giffin to him ane hart to thend pat he be hardy by his
 noblenefs, so aucht he to haf in his hart mercy, & pat
 his courage be inclyned to pe werkis of mercycord & of
 pete. That is to weit, to help & ayd pem pat all wep[ing]^a 5
 require of pe knyghtis ayd & mercy & pat in [paim]^b
 haue there hope. Thenn knyghtis pat haue non eyne by
 [* fol. 91] quhiche * that pai may se pe feble & not strong, ne
 haue not pe hert ne mycht by quhiche pai may record pe
 nedis of pe myschans & nedy peple, bene not wordy to be 10
 in the ordour of cheualry. Gif cheualry quhiche is so
 moche in honorable office war to robbe & to distroye pe
 pure peple & not mychti, & tengyn & do wrong to gud

^a MS. wepryn.^b MS. Om.¹ pitie et misericorde.² *R.J.* pensee. *A.* penser.³⁻³ chetifue.⁴⁻⁴ *RA.* nest mye bon cheualier ne nest pas en la vraye ordre de cheualerie. *J.* nest mie vrai cheualier ne mest mie en lordre de cheualerie.⁵ Om.⁶⁻⁶ qui nont quy les deffende se dieu et cheualerie non.

Carton.

nothyng to deffende them ⁸ / ¹ That offyce thenne were
not vertuous / but it shold be vycious ¹ /

¶ Thoffyce of a knyght is to haue a castel and horse for
to kepe the wayes / and for to deffende them that
5 labouren the londes ² and the erthe ² / and they ought to
haue ^a townes and Cytees for to holde ryght to the peple /
And for to assemble in a place men of many dynerse ^b
craftes / whiche ben moche necessarye to the ordenaunce
of this world to kepe and mayntene the lyf of man and
10 of woman.

¶ Thenne as the knyghtes for to mayntene theyre
offyces ben soo moche ³ preyse and allowe ³ / that they
be lordes of townes Castellys / and / Cytees / and

^a C. ne.

^b C. dynerse.

8. He protects the people with his castle and horse.
He sets up courts of justice and founds trading communities.

He must not commit unsocial acts.

Loutfut.

wymen, wedois pat has no thing to defend pain, pat
office pan war not vertuis, bot it suld be vicioufs.

Thoffice of a knyght is for to haue a castell & hors for
to keip pe wais & for to defend pain pat laboren pe
5 landis & pe erd. And pai aucht to haue townys & citeis
for to hald richt to pe peple & for to assemble in a place
men of mony diuerf craftes quhiche bene moche necessary
to pe ordinans of pis world, to keip & mantein pe lif of
man & of woman.

10 Thenn as pe knyghtis for to manten per officis bene
so moche prayced & alowyd pat pai be lordis of
townys, castellis and citeis, & of moche peple, gif pen

A knyght suld haf a castell or a streit & apon hors bak to keip pe wais quharfor laboraris war trublit.

¹⁻¹ Bien grant et noble office est doncques aydier et deffendre orphenins et femmes vefues. Doneques se ce quoy est mauuaistie et tricherie estoit en lordre de cheualerie qui tant est honorable, et par mauuaistie faulsete et trayson et cruaulte cheualerie estoit en tel honneur, moult plus forment seroit honnoree par dessus cheualerie celle ordre quy par loyaulte courtoisie liberalite et pitie auroit honneur. (So in *Lull.*)

²⁻² Om.

³⁻³ louez.

Carton.

¹of moche people / yf thenne they entende to destroye
Castellys Cytees and Townes / Brenne howses / Hewe
dounne trees / slee beestes / and^l robbe in the hyhe wayes
were the offyce of chyualrye / hit shold^e be disordynaunce
to Chyualrye¹ / ¶ ²For yf hit were soo / Chyualrye 5
were not well *ordeynea^l / for thenne good^e ordenaunce /
and^l his contrary shold^e be one thyng / & that may not
be² / Thoffyce of a knyght is also to enserche for
theues / robhours and^l other wykked folke / For to
make them to be punysshed^e / For in lyke wyse as 10
the axe is made for to hewe and^l destroye the euylle
trees / in lyke wyse is thoffyce of a knyght establisshy^e
for to punysse the ³trespacers and delynquaunts³ /

* p. 46 b]

9. A knight
punishes
thieves and
criminals.

Loulfut.

pai entend to distroy castellis, citeis & townys, birn
houses, hew doun treis, sla bestis, & robbe in pai hie
wais were pe office of cheualry, it suld be disordinance
of cheualry. For gif it war so, cheualry war not weill
ordanyt, for pen good ordinans & his contrary suld be 5
one thing & pat may not be.

A knyght
suld sek
quiter ouer
lie herd of
thevis or
Rubbarys of
pure people
to bring
paim to pe
law.

Thoffice of a knyht is alsua to ense[r]^a for thevis, rubbaris
& opir wiked folk, for to mak paim to be ponyst. For
in likwifs as pe ax is maid for to hew & distroy pe evil
treis, in lik wifs is thoffice of a knyght establisshid for 10
to punyfs pe trespassers & delinquants.

^a MS. enseis.

¹ R. pour la gent regir et bien gouuerner. Ardoir villes et
maisons, ou bastir chasteaulz et garnir forteresses pour gaittier
les chemins et desrober et destruire la gent, telz choses et samblables
seroient contraires a lordre de cheualerie et a son office. A. et
de moult de gent. Si destruire chasteaux villes et citez, ardoir
maisons, copper arbres et plantes, occire bestes et rober les chemins
estoit office de cheualerie, faire oeures et paller chasteaulx villes
et citez et garder forteresses, garder et deffendre la bonne gent et
tenir seurs les chemins et les autres choses semblables a cestes
seroient desordonnement de cheualerie. (J. and Lull are sub-
stantially the same as A.)

² R. Om. A.J. Et sil estoit ainsi la raison, pourquoy est
cheualerie trouuee en son desordonnement et en son contraire,
seroit une mesme chose. Et ne peult estre a nul feur,

³ mauuais hommes.

Caxton.

And¹ by cause that god and chyualry concorde to
gydre^a / hit behoueth / that fals swerynge and vntrewe
othe / be not in them that mayntene thordre of
chyualrye / And yf lecherye² and Iustyce accorded to
5 gydre / Chyualry whiche accordeth to Iustyce shold
accorde to lecherye / And yf Chyualrye and lecherye
accorded / Chastyte whiche is contrary to lechery shold
be ageynst the honour of chyualry / And yf hit were so
that for to mayntene lecherye knyghtes were honoured
10 in mayntenyng Chyualrye / seen that lecherye and
Iustyce ben contrarye / And that Chyualry is ordeygne
for to mayntene Iustyce /³

10. He es-
chews false
swearing &
impurity,
and is just
and humble.

^a C. to gygre.

Loutfut.

And bicaufs pat God & cheualry concord to gidder,
it behuffis pat fals suering ande wntrew aith be not in
paim pat manteyn thordre of cheualry. And gif lechory
& justice accord to gider, cheualry quliche accordis to
5 iustice suld accord to lechery. And gif cheualry &
lechory accordit, chastite, quliche is contrary to lechory,
suld be aganis the ordour of cheualry. And gif it war
so pat to manteyn *lechory knyghthed war honored in
manteinyng cheualry, seen pat lechory and iustice bene
10 contrary, and pat cheualry is ordanyd for to manteine
iustice.

[* fol. 91 b]

¹ Here follows in MSS. a passage which Caxton has transferred to the next chapter. See p. 48.

² luxure.

³ R. adds—Donques cheuallier luxurieux est contraire a lordre de cheuallerie. Puis que ainsy est donques ne deuoit tant pugnir ce vice de luxure en nul ordre comme en lordre de cheuallerie, pour ce quil fait le cheuallier si different a son ordre et a son office. A. is substantially the same. J. adds—Et sil estoit ainsi par maintenir luxure cheualiers honnoroient et maintendroient cheualerie. Et sainsi est, donques deuroit plus asperment estre puni en cheualerie le vice de luxure quil nest. Et se en cheualerie estoit puni le vice de luxure selon ce quil deuroit de nul ordre nen seroit tant depunis ne tant deboutez hors comme de lordre de cheualerie. Lull agrees with J.

Carton.

[* p. 47] The knyght oughte and shold be just & ^a* and totally contrary to thende / wherfor the ordre of kny3thode was fyrst establysshed And yf Iustyce & humylyte weren contrary / chyualry whiche accordeth hym not to Iustyce shold be contrary to Humylyte And yf he accordeth hym to pryde / he shold be contrarye to humylyte / ¶ And thenne yf a knyght in as moche as he is proud mayntene^d chyualry / he corrupteth his ordre whiche was begonne by Iustyce and humylyte for to susteyne the hūble ayenst the prowde¹ / For yf hit were so / the kny3tes^b that now ben / shold not ben in that ordre in whiche they were fyrste knyghtes / ² But alle the knyghtes now Iniuryous and proud ful of wyckednesse

Contempor-
ary knights
are re-
proved.

^a Something has dropped out here.

^b C. kny3tes.

Loutfut.

The knyght aucht & suld be just & totally contrary to thend *quherfor* thordre of knyghthed was first estab-
lissed. And gif iustice & humilite war contrary, cheualry quhiche accodeth *him* not to iustice suld be contrary to humilite. And gif he accodeth him to prid he suld be contrary to humilite. And thenn gif a knyght in alfs moche as he is proud manteinyd cheualry, he corruptith his ordre, quhich wes bygon be iustice & humilite, for to sustene pe humble aganis the proud. For gif it war so, pe knyght *pat* now bene suld not bene in *pat* thordre in quhiche pei wer first knyghtes. Bot al pe knyghtes now ^a iniurioufs and proud, ful of wikitnes, be not

agane prid

^a MS. now ar.

¹ MSS. add—et iniurieux.

^{2—3} R. Et se les cheualliers quy sont on temps present orgueilleux et iniurieux maintiennent cheualerie par orgueil et mauuaistie, et orgueil et mauuaistie ne soient preputes pour vice. . . . J. Car se les cheualiers qui orez sont, en tant come ils sont orgueilleux et iniurieux, tenoient la Reule lordre et loffice que tenoient les premiers cheualiers, de ce sensuiroit que les cheualiers orgueilleux et iniurieux qui sont au temps present ne fust orgueil ne mauuestie. Et si ce qui est orgueil et mauuestie ne semble estre mauuestie et orgueil et sont reputes pour rien. . . . A. on. from "Car se" to "premiers cheualiers."

Carton.

be not worthy to Chyualrye / but oughten to be reputed
for nought² / where thēne ben humylyte & Iustyce /
what done they / or whereof serue they / And yf justyce
& pees were contrary / Chyualry whiche accordeth hym to
5 justyce shold be contrary to peas / And by that / they that
loue warres / theftes / and Robberye shold be knyghtes /
And to the contrarye / they that pacyfye and accorde
the good peple / and that *flee the Trybulacions and
wyckednes of the world shold be euylle and wycke
10 knyghtes / ¶ But the hye emperour god¹ whiche al
seeth and knoweth¹ / wote wel / that it is contrarye
and otherwyse / For the² felons and Iniuryous² ben
al cōtrary to chyualrye / and³ to al honour³ / I de-
maunde the thenne who were the fyrste knyghtes that
15 accorded them to Iustyce & pees / and pacyfyed by
Iustyce and by force and strengthe of armes / For al
in lyke wyse in the tyme / in whiche chyualry beganne

[* p. 47 b]

Loutfut.

worthy to cheualry, bot ouchten for to be reputed for
nocht. Quher thenn bene humilite & justice? Qhuat
done they, or quhar of serue they? And gif justice &
pees war contrary, cheualry quhiche accordith him to
5 iustice suld be contrary to pees. And by that, pai pat
loue werres, theftes & robbery shold be knyghtes. And
to pe contrary, pai pat pacyfye and accord pe gud peple,
& pat fle pe tribulacionis & wikidnes of pe warld suld
be euill & . . . all seeth & knoweth wote wele pat it is
10 contrary and opirwifs, for pe felons & iniuriours bene
al contrary to cheualry & to al honour. I demand pe
thenn, "Quho wer pe first knyghtes pat accordit pem to
iustice & peice & pacifeid by iustice, by force & strentk
of armys?" For all inlikwifs in pe tym in quhiche
15 cheualry began was thoffice of cheualry to pacifye &

¹⁻¹ R. nostre benoit createur qui tout scet voit et cognoist.
AJ. have the same as *Cax.*

²⁻² iniurieux.

³⁻³ R. a son ordre.

Carton.

was thoffyce of chyualrye to pacyfye / and^t accorde the
 peple by force of armes / ¹ The knyghtes Iniuryous and
 warryours that now ben mayntene and^t dysordeyne the
 ordre of chyualry ¹ / In many maners owe and^t may a
 knyght vse thoffyce of knyghthode / But by cause we 5
 haue to speke of many thynges / we passe ouer as
 lyghtly as we maye / And^t also at the request of the ryght
 curtoys esquier / loyal verytable and^t wel enseygned in
 al curtosye and^t honoure / whiche moche longe hath
 desyred^t the rule and^t ordre of chyualrye / we haue be- 10
 [• p. 48] gonne this booke for the loue of * hym / and^t for his desyre
 and^t wyll taccomplysshe / we purpose bryefly to speke
 in this booke / by cause that shortly he shal be adoubbed
 and^t made new knyght /

Loutfut.

accord pe peple by fors of armes. The knyghtes
 iniurioufs & warrioufs pat now beyn manteyn & disordeyn
 pe ordre of cheualry. In mony maneris ow^a & may a
 [• fol. 92] knyght vse thoffice^{*} of knyghted.

Bot by caufs we haf to spek of many thinges, we pas 5
 our als lichtely as we may. And also at pe request of
 pe richt curtois esquier, loyele, veritable, and weill
 enseigned in al curtasy & honour, quhiche moche longe
 haue desired pe rewll & ordour of cheualry, we haue
 begon pis booke for the luf of him. And ffor his desire 10
 & will taccomplysse, we purpofs breiflye to spek in pis
 buk bycaufs pat schortlie he salbe a-doubbed & maid
 new knyght.

^a MS. how.

¹—*R.* Et se les cheualliers desirans guerres et pilleries qui
 sont a present maintiennent lordre de cheuallerie, quy sont ceulz
 quy la gent accorderont et pacifieront selon lestatu et office des
 premiers cheualiers. *AJ.* Et se les cheualiers iniurieux et guerrieux
 qui orendroit sont ne maintiennent lordre ne loffic de cheuallerie,
 qui sont ceulx qui les maintendront. Ne quans se tous sont telz.
Lull. Si los cauallers guerriers, injurioses qui son en aquest temps
 no son en lorde de cavaylaria, ni han offici de cauayler, ou es
 donchs cauaylaria, ni quals ni quants son aquells qui son en son
 ordre.

Caxton.

¶ Of the examynynge of the squyer that wyl entre in to the ordre of chyualrye or knyghthode /

To examyne a squyer that wylle entre in to the ordre of chyualrye apperteyneth wel / and hym behoueth an examynatour whiche ought to be a knyght / and next after god / that he loue aboue all thynges Chyualrye or knyghthode / For some knyghtes ther ben / whiche loue better grete nombre of knyghtes al be they¹ euyl and wycked¹ / than a lytyll nombre of good / And not withstandyng Chyualry hath no regard to the multytude of nombre / but loueth only² them that ben ful of² noblesse of courage / and of good enseygnement as tofore is sayd / Ther fore yf the Examynoure loueth more multytude of knyghtes / than noblesse* of chyualrye / he is not couenable ne worthy to be an examynour / but it shold be nede that he shold be examyned / and repreuyd of the wronge / that he hath

Every squire must be examined by a knight of great integrity,

[* p. 48 b]

Loutfut.

Off þe examyn of þe squyer þat will enter in the ordre of cheualry or knyghted.

To examyn a squyer þat will entre in þe ordre of cheualry apperteneth weil, & him behuffis an examynatour quhiche aucht to be a knyght, & nixt eftir God þat he luf aboue al thingis cheualry or knyghted. For sum knyghtis þer bene quhiche luf better gret nombre of knyghtes, al be they euil & wiked, þan a litill nombre of gud. And nocht withstanding cheualry has ne regard to þe multitud of nombre, bot luffeth only them þat bene ful of noblenefs of curage & of gud ensengement, as to fore is said. Therfor, gif þe examynour loueth more multitud of knyghtis þan nobles of cheualry, he is not couenable ne worthi to be an examynour; bot it suld be ned þat he suld be examyned & repruffit of þe wrong þat has he

Caxton.

who first
makes sure
that the
squire loves
and fears
God.

Passage
misplaced
by Caxton,
giving
further
duties of a
knight.
See p. 43,
note 1.

done to the hyhe honour of Chyualrye / Fyrste hym be-
houeth to demaunde of the squyer / that wyl be a knyght /
yf he loue and drede god / For withoute to loue and to
drede god / noman is worthy to entre in to the ordre of
Chyualrye / And drede maketh hym to fere the deffaultes 5
by whiche Chyualrye taketh dishonour / Thenne whan it
happeth that the squyer that nothyng dredeth¹ god / is made
knyght^a / he taketh thonour in receyuyng chyualrye /
and receyueth dishonour / in as moche that he receyueth
it withoute to honoure and drede god of whome chyualrye 10
is honoured / Therfor a squyer withoute loue and drede of
god / is not dygne ne worthy to be a knyght² for to
destroie and punyssh the wycked men² / Thenne yf a
knyght is a Robbour / wycked & traitour /³ & that it be
trewe that³ theues & robbours ouzt^b to be taken & de- 15
lyuerd to deth by the knyghtes / Thenne late the knyght

^a C. knyght.

^b C. ouzt.

Loutfut.

pe first
demand

[¹ fol. 92 b]

done to pe heich honour of cheualry. Him first behuffit
to demand of pe squyer pat will be a knyght gif he loue
& dred God . . . ne man is worthi to entre in pe ordour
of cheualry. And dred of God^a maketh him not^a to fere
pe diffealtis by quhiche cheualry taketh dishonour. Pen 5
quhen it happeth pat pe squyer pat no thing dredeth
God is ma[de]^b knyght, he taketh thonour in resaving
cheualry & resavith dishonour, in als moch pat he receyuyth
it without to honour & dred God, *of quhom cheualry is
honored. Therefore a squyer without loue & dred of God 10
is nocht digne no worthi to be a knyght, for to distroy &
punyfs pe wiked men.

Than gif a knyght is a robbour, wikid, & tratour, & pat
it be trew pat theves and robbours oucht to be takin &
deliuerit to deth by pe knyghtis, theun lat pe knyght so 15

^a "of God" and "not" added above the line.

^b MS. mak.

¹ ame ne doute.

²⁻² Om.

³⁻³ Om.

Carton.

- so entatched with wycked * cōdycions take justyce & ryght
of hym self & vse his offyce / as he ought to do of other
And yf he wil not vse in hym self his offyce lyke as he
shold vse hit in other / hit shold folowe that he shold
5 loue better the ordre of Chyualrye in other / than
in hym self / But a thyng couenable ne lawfull is
it not that a man slee hym self / And therefore a
knyght / that is a robbour & a thief / ought to be taken
and delyuerd to dethe by other knyghtes / And euery
10 knyght that susteyneth & suffreth a knyght to be a rob-
bour & thief / in that doying he vseth not his offyce /
For yf he vsed in that maner / he shold do thenne ageynst
his offyce / Therefore the fals men & traitours ougt to be
destroyed / whiche be not very trewe knyghtes / yf thou
15 knyzt haue ony euyl or sore in one of thy hādes / that
sore or payn is more ner to thyn other hand than to me or
to another man / Thēne euery knyzt a traitour & robbour
is more ner to the that art a knyght than to me that am

A wicked knight is not fit to punish evil-doers, since he will not punish himself.
[° p. 10]

He should be executed by his peers,

whose office he has dishonoured.

Loutfut.

- entatched with wikit condicionis tak iustice & rycht of his
office & vse his office as he aucht to doo of other. And
gif he will nocht vse in him self his office lik as he suld
vse it in other, it suld folow pat he suld loue better pe
5 ordour of cheualry in opir pan in him self. But a thing
couenable ne lauchfull is it not that a man sla him self.
And perfor a knyght pat is a robbour and a theif aucht
to be takin & delyuered to detht by opir knyghtes. And
euery knyght pat sustenys & sufferis a knyght to be a
10 robbour & a theif, in pat doing he vse not his office.
For gif he used in pat maner he suld do thenn agane his
office. Tharfor pe fals men and tratouris aucht to be dis-
troyd quiche be not verre trew knyghtes. Gif thow,
knyt, haue ony euill or sore in one of pi handis, that
15 sore or payne is more nere to thyne other hand pan to me
or to a-nother man. Thenn euery knyght, a tratour or
robbour, is more nere to the pat art a knyght pan to me

Carton.

[* p. 40 b]

It is a
graver sin
to take
away a
knight's
good name
than to
steal
money.

no knyght / ne of thyn offyce / as he whom thou sustenest /
& is suche by thy deffaulte / & yf that same euyl griue
the more than me / wher*fore thenne excusest the of the
punysshing of suche a man whiche is contrarye & enemy
of chyualry / & they that ben not knyghtes / ¹thou re- 5
preuest or oughtest to reprehende of ¹ theyr deffaultes / A
knyght beyng a theef doth gretter thefte to the hye
honour of chyualrye / in as moche as he taketh away the
name of a knyght withoute cause than he doth that
taketh away or steleth money or other thynges / For ²to 10
stele or take away ²thonour / is to gyue euyl fame &
renomme / & to blame that thyng whiche is worthy to
haue praysyng & honour / For honour is more worth than
gold or syluer withoute any comparyson / Fyrst by cause
it is said / that it is more grete deffaulte for to stele or 15
take away chyualry / than for to stele money or other

Loutfut.

Of a knyght
beyng a
theif quik
auchit pecto.

[* fol. 93]

primo.

pat am no knyght ne of pin office, as he quhom pow
susteneth is suche by pi defalt. And gif pat sam euill
greif pe more pan me, quharfor thenn excusest the of pe
ponysing of suche a man quhiche is contrary & enemy to
cheualry? And pai pat bene not knyghtis, thou^a re- 5
preuest or ouchtest to reprehend of per diffaltis.

A knyght beyng a theif dois gretter thift to pe hie
honour of cheualry, in als moch as he takis away pe
nam of a knyght without caufs, pan he dotht pat taketh
away or steleth money or opir thingis. For to steill or 10
tak away thonour, is to gyue euyl fame & renoun and to
blame pat thing quhiche is worthi to haf prasing & honour.
For honour is more worth pan *gold or siluer without any
comparisone. First be-caufs it is said pat it is mair gret
defalt for to steill or tak away cheualry pan for to steill 15

^a MS. throwe.

1—1 R. tu reprene ou au moins dois corriger. AJ. tu reprene.

2—2 embler.

Custom.

thynges that ben not chyualrye / For yf hit were the
 contrary / it shold folowe that money & other thynges
 shold be of more valewe than honour Secondly yf ony
 traytour that slewe his lord or laye with his wyf / or
 5 bitrayed his castel were named a knyght / what name
 shold haue that man / that for to honoure & deffende his
 lord dyeth in the fait of ar^{*}mes / Thyrdly / yf a knyght [^{*}p. 50]
 beynge a traytre be borne oute of his deffaulte / what
 deffaulte may he thenne make of whiche he be repreuyd
 10 and punysshed / syth that his lord punyssheth hym not
 of trayson / And yf his lord maynteneth not thordre of
 chyualry in punysshing his knyght traytre In whome
 shalle he maytene^a it / And yf he destroye not his
 traitre / what thyng shal he destroye / and euery lord that
 15 taketh not vengeaunce of his traitour / wherfore is he a
 lord or a man of ony puyssaunce / Thoffyce of a trewe
 knyzt is to accuse a traytour / & to fyght ageynst hym /

^a C. mayutene.

A knight
 must chal-
 lenge
 traitors
 to mortal
 combat.

Loutfut.

money or opir thingis pat bene not cheualry. For gif it
 5 war pe contrary, it suld folow pat money & wpir thingis
 suld be of more valew pan honour. Secoundlie, [gi]f^a 27.
 ony tratour pat slew his lord, or lay with his wif, or
 5 bitrasit his castell war namyt a knyght, quhat name [suld
 haue]^b pat man pat for to honour and defend his lord deis
 in pe faith of armes? Third[ly], gif a knyght beyng a 32.
 tratour be born out of his default, quhat defalt may he
 pan mak of quhiche he be repruffid & punyssed, syth
 10 pat his lord punys him not of tresoun? And [gi]f^a his
 lord manteneth not thordre of cheualry in punyssing his
 knyght traytre, in quhom sall he mantene it? And gif
 he distroy not his tratre, quhat thing sal he distroy?
 And euery lord pat taketh nocht vengeans of his tratour,
 15 quhar of is he a lord or a man of ony puyssance^c?

Thoffyce of a trewe knyght is to accus a tratour and to

^a MS. of.

^b MS. haue suld.

^c MS. punyssance.

Of a trew
 knyght & of
 a tratour.

Carton.

& thoffyce of a knyzt traitre is to gaynsay hym of that he is appelled of & to fyght ayenst a trewe knyzt / & these two offyces ben wel cōtrary that one ayenst that other / For soo moche euyl is the courage of a knyght traytre / that he may not vaynquysshe & surmoūte the noble 5 courage of a good knyzt / how wel p^e by surquedrye he weneth sōtyme to ouer come in fyztynȝ / for the trewe knyght that fyzteth for the ryzt may not be surmoūted For yf a knyzt a frende of chyualry were vaynquysshed
 [* p. 50 b] that shold be ¹ pyte & ayenst* the honour of chyualrye / 10 yf to robbe & to take away were thoffyce of a knyght / to gyue shold be contrarye to the ordre of chyualrye / And yf to gyue apperteyned to any other offyce / ² how wel that a man shok^t haue / that he shold mayntene thoffyce for to gyue² / And yf to gyue the thynges 15 stolen apperteyned to Chyualrye / to whome shok^t

Loutfut.

fecht aganis him. And thoffice of a knyght traite is to gansay him of pat he is appelled of, & to fecht aganis a trew knyght. And these two officis bene weil contrary that one aganis pat other. For so moche euill is pe 5 courage of a knyght traite pat he ma not vencufs & surmounte pe noble courage of a gud knyght, how weil that by surquedry he weneth sumtym to ourcum in fichting. For pe trew knyght pat fechtis for pe richt may not be sourmonted. For gif a knyt, a frend of cheualry, war vencust pat suld be pite, & aganis pe honour of cheualry. 10 Gif to rub & to tak away war thoffice of a knyt, to gyue suld be contrary to pe ordre of cheualry. And gif to gyue apperteneth to ony opir office, how well pat a man suld haf pat he suld manteine thoffice for to gyue. And
 [* fol. 93 b] gif to *gyue pe thingis stollen apperteneth to cheualry, to 15

¹ pechie.² combien de valeur auroit homme qui mantendrait office de donner.

Carton.

apperteyne to rendre & to re-establysshe / And yf a
 knyght toke away fro the good¹ people that whiche god
 hath gyuen to them / and wold reteyne it as his
 possession / what thyng shold deffende to good² men
 5 their ryght / lytil knoweth he & euyl kepeth he that
 comaūdeth his sheep to the kepyng of the wulf¹ &
 that putteth his faire wyf in the kepyng of a yonge
 knyght traytre / and that his strong castel delyuere to a
 knyght coueytous / ¶ And yf suche a man / that thus
 10 folysshly delyuerth to kepe his thynges / how sholde he
 wel kepe other mennes² / Is ther no knyght that gladly
 wold kepe his wyf from a knyght traytour / ³Certes
 I trowe yes³ / Also is ther no knyzt couetous & robbour⁴
 that neuer fayneth hym to stele / Certainly *no suche
 15 knyghtes that ben euylle & wycked¹ maye not be brought
 ageyne / ne redressid¹ to thordre of chyualry / For to

[* p. 51]

Loutfut.

quhom suld appertene to rendre & to restrablisce^a? And
 gif a knyght tuk away fro pe gud peple *pat* quhiche God
 has giffin to paim, and wald retene it as his possessioun,
 quhat thing suld defend to gud men *per* richt? Litol
 5 knoweth he, & euill kepeth he, *pat* command[eth]^b his
 scheip in pe keping of pe wulf, and *pat* putteth his fair
 wif in pe keping of a young knyght traite, and *pat* his
 strong castel delyuer to a knyght covatoufs. And gif
 suche a man *pat* pus folichly delyuer to keip his thinges,
 10 how suld he weil keip *opir* mennys? Is *per* na knyght
pat gladly wald keip his wif fra a knyght tratour? Certes
 I trow yes. Also is *per* no knyght couatoufs & robbour
pat neuer fanyth him to steill? Certainly ne suche knyghtes
pat bene euill & wiked may noch^t be brocht agane no
 15 redressid to thordre of cheualry.

Of euill
 falsset of
 cheualry.

^a MS. restrablisce.

^b MS. commandment.

¹ MSS. add—fameilleux.

² MSS. add—Est il aulcun cheualier quy ne recourast voulentiers son chastel de celui a quy il a commande a garder.

³—³ certainement.

⁴ R. trahiteur. AJ. robeur.

Carton.

A knight
should
understand
the care of
a horse,

so as to be
able to de-
tect his
servants'
faults.

He must
not be a
perjurer.

haue harnoyis fayr & good / & to knowe hym self / to
take hede of his hors is thoffyce of a knyght / that is
to saye / that a knyghte ought wel to conne doo as a
good maystre / to thende that them whom he hath com-
mysed to doo or make any thyng / he coude repreue of 5
theyr dyffaultes / ¹ And yf to haue harnoyis and none
hors were thoffyce of a knyght / It shold seme that
whiche that is / and that whiche that is not / were
thoffyce of a knyght / but to be and not to be / shold be
thynges contrary / wherfor a knyght without harnoyis 10
may not be / ne ought to be name^d a knyght¹ / ¶ There
is a commaundement in oure lawe / that no crysten man
shold be pariured / Also a fals oth ought to be repreuyd
in thordre of chyualry / And he is not that periureth
hym worthy to be in thordre of chyualry / ¶ Thenne 15

Loutfut.

For to haue harnois fair & gud, & to know him self to
tak hed of his hors, is thoffice of a knyght. *pat* is to say
pat a knyght aucht weil to cun do as a gud maister, to
thend *pat* *paim* quhom he has commysed to do or mak
any thing he coud repreue of *per* diffaltis. And gif to 5
haue harnes & non hors wer thoffice of a knyght, it suld
seme *pat* quhich *pat* is & quhich *pat* is not war thoffice
of a knyght. Bot to be & not to be suld be thingis
contrary. *Quhar*for a knyght without harnes may not be
ne aucht to be named a knyht. 10

Thair is a *commandment* in our law *pat* no *cristin man*
suld be periured. Also a fals aith aucht to be reprevit
in thordre of cheualry, and he is not *pat* periurith him
worthi to be in thordre of cheualry.

¹⁻¹ Et se mettre en non chaloir son harnois et son cheual estoit
office de cheuallier, il sensuiroit que ce que est et que non est fust
office de cheuallier, comme estre et non estre, qui sont choses
appertement contraires. Se soy jouer et laisser perdre son harnois
et gaster son cheual est office de cheualier, quelle chose est ce
donques cheualier sans harnois et sans cheual ne pour quoy est il
appelle cheualier?

Caston.

- yf a squyer haue a vyle courage / and wold be a knyght /
 he wylle destroye the ordre that he demaundeth / wherfor
 thenne demaundeth he thordre that * he loueth not / the
 whiche he entendeth to destroye by his euyl nature /
 5 And he that maketh a knyght of vyle courage by fauour
 or otherwyse forseen that he knowe that he be suche /
 doth ageynst his ordre / and chargeth his consyence /
 Seche not noblesse of courage in the mouth / For eueryche
 mouth sayth not trouthe / Ne seche it not in honourable
 10 clothyng / For vnder many a fayr habyte hath ben ofte
 vyle courage ful of barate and of wyckednesse / Ne seke
 hit not in the hors / For he may not answer / Ne seche
 hit not in the fayr garnementes ne in the fayr harnois /
 For within fayr garnementes / is oftyme a wycked herte
 15 and coward / Thenne yf thou wylt fynde noblesse of
 courage / demaunde it of faythe / hope Charyte / Iustyce /
 strengthe / attemperance loyaulte / & of other noble

The squire's
 examina-
 tion, cont.
 He must
 not have
 an evil dis-
 position.
 [* p. 51 b]

A noble
 disposition
 is found
 in virtue
 alone.

Loutfut.

- Then gif a squyer haue a wile courage & wold be a
 knyght, he will distroy the ordour pat he demandeth.
 Quharfor thenn demandeth he thordre pat he loueth not,
 pe quhiche he entendeth to distroy be his euill natur?
 5 And * he pat maketh a knyght of wile courage by fauour
 or opirwifs, for-sen pat he know pat he be suche, doith
 aganis his ordour & chargeth his consciens. Sech not
 noblefs of courage in pe mothe for eueryche mothe saith
 not t[routhe],^a ne sech it not in honorable clothing, for
 10 vnder mony in fair habite has bene oft wile courage, ful
 of barett and of wikitnes. Ne sech hit not in pe hors,
 for he ma not ansuer. Ne sech it nocht in pe fair
 garmontis, ne in pe fair harnois, for within fair garna-
 mentis is oft tym a wikid hert & cowart. pen gif pow
 15 will fynd noblenes of courage, demand it of f[a]ith,^b
 hoip, charite, iustice, strent^h, attemperans, leaute, & of

[* fol. 94]

^a MS. thrō.

^b A discoloration on the MS. covers one letter.

Carton.

A squire
must not be
too young
when he is
knighted.

[* p 52]

vertues / For in them is noblesse of courage / by them is
diffeated the hert of a noble knyght fro wickednesse fro
trecherye / and fro the enemyes of chyualrye / Age couen-
able apperteyneth to a newe knyzt / for yf thesquier that
be a knyzt be ouer yong / he is not worthy to be it / 5
by cause he may not be so wyse that * he hath lerned the
thynges that apperteyne a squyer for to knowe tofore
that he be a knyght / & yf he be a knyzt in his enfancy
he may neuer so moche remembre that / whiche he
promyseth to thordre of chyualrye / whan nede shal be 10
that he remembre it / & yf the squyer that wyl be a
knyght be vyle to fore that he be it / he doth vylony &
jniury to chyualrye / that is mayntened by strong men
1 & fyghtars / & is defouled by¹ coward men & faynt of
herte / vummyzty feble / ouercomen & flears / Al in lyke 15
wyse as vertue & mesure abyde in the myddel of two

Loutfut.

opir noble vertuys, for in pem is noblenes of courage.
By pem is defeated pe hert of a noble knyght for wikit-
ne[s],^a for trechery, and for pe enemys of cheualry.

Age couenable apperteneth to a new knyght, for gif pe
squyer pat be a knyght be our 3oung, he is not worthi to 5
be it, by caufs he may not be so wifs at he haue lernyt
pe thingis pat appertenyth a squyer for to know to for
pat he be a knyght. And gif he be a knyght in his
enfanceye, he may neuer so moch remembre pat quhich he
promisit to thordre of cheualry quhen ned salbe pat he 10
remembre it. And gif pe squyer pat will be a knyght
be wil to-for pat he be it, he doith velany & iniure to
cheualry, pat is manteinyd by strong men & fightaris,
and is defoullit by cowart men & fant of hert, wumychty,
feble, ourcummyyn, & flears. All in likwifs as vertu & 15
mesour abid in pe mydill of two extremyteis & per con-

^a MS. wikitned.

Carton.

extremytees ¹ & theyr contrarye / that is to wete / pryde
 & vyce ¹ / Ryght so a knyzt ² ought to be made knyght /
 and to be nourysshe^d in age competent / and alwey
 vertuous vnto thende by ryght mesure ² / For yf it were
 5 not thus / hit shold^e folowe / that cōtraryousnes were
 bitwene chyualry & mesure / And yf hit were soo / vertue
 & chyualrye shold^e be contrarye / And yf they shold^e be
 contrarye / in the a squyer whyche arte latchous and
 slowe to be a knyght / wherfore wylt thou thenne be in
 10 the ordre of knyghthode or chyualrye / If by * beaute of [• p. 52 b]
 facion / or by a body fayr grete & wel aourne^d / or by
 fayr here / by regan^t / or for to holde the myrrour in the
 hand³ / and by the other Iolytees / shold^e a squyer be
 adoube^d knyght ⁴ of vylayns / and of peple of lytyl lygn-
 15 age ⁴ lowe and vyle mayst thou make knyghtes / And yf
 thou madest them / thy lygnage thou sholdest dishonoure

A knight
must be
nobly born.

Loutfut.

trary, and pat is to wit prid & wice, rychtso a knyght
 oucht to be maid knyght and to be norised in age
 competent and alway vertuys wnto thend by rycht
 mesour. For gif it war not pus it suld folow pat con-
 5 trarious[nes] ^a war betuene cheualry & mesour. And gif
 it war so, vertu & cheualry suld be contrary. * And gif [• fol. 94 b]
 pai suld be contrary in pe, a squyer quhiche art latchous &
 slowe to be a knyght, quharfor will pow then be in pe
 ordre of knyghthod or cheualry?
 10 Gif by [b]eaute ^b of facion, or by a body fair, gret, and
 weil auorned, or by fair heir, by regard, or for to hald pe
 myrrour in pe hand, and by the othir jolitees, suld a
 squyer be a-doubed knyght, of vilayns & of peple of litil
 lygnage, lowe & will, maist thow mak knyghtes. And
 15 gif pow madest paim, pi lygnage pow suldest dishonour

^a MS. contrarious.

^b MS. leaute.

¹⁻¹ A. Om. *RJ.* et leur contraire. Cest a scauoir orgueil et vice demeurent es deux extremitiez.

²⁻² maint et demeure en laage quy appartient a cheuallier.

³ All MSS. except *R.* add—ou entour soy.

⁴⁻⁴ de beaulz filz de vilains et de belles femmes de petit lignage.

Caxton.

and^t mespryse / And^t the noblesse that god^t hath gyuen
 gretter to man than to woman / thow sholdest make it
 lasse / and brynge hit to vylete / ^{1 ¶} For by the thynges
 tofore sayd^t / thou myghtest chese wymmen to be knyghtes /
 whiche ofte haue the myrrour in the hande / by whiche 5
 thou sholdest mynnysshe and^t make lowe the ordre of
 chyualrye / in soo moche that ony vyle woman or ony
 vylayne of herte myght come to be put in the ryght hye
 honoure of thordre of chyualrye ¹ / Parage and chyualrye
 accorden to gyder / For parage is none thyng / but 10
 honour auneyntly acustomed^t / And^t chyualrye is an
 ordre ² that hath endured^t syth the tyme in whiche hit
 was begonne vnto this present tyme / And by cause that
 parage and^t chyualry * accorde them yf thou make a knyght
 that is not of parage / thou makest chyualrye to be con- 15

[° p. 53]

Loutful.

& mesprise. And the noblefs pat God has gevin gretter
 to man than to woman thow scholdest mak it lasse and
 bring it to vylete. For by pe thinges tofor said pow
 mychest cheifs wymmen to be knyghtes, quhiche oft
 haue pe myrrour in pe hand, by quhiche pow suldest 5
 menuyfs & mak lowe pe ordour of cheualry in so moche
 pat ony vile woman or ony vileyne of hert mycht come to
 be put in pe richt hie honour of thordre of cheualry.

Of parage
& of
cheualry.

Parage & cheualry accorden to-gider. For parage is
 no thing bot honour aunciently acustomed, and cheualry 10
 is ane ordre pat has endured syth pe tym in quhiche it
 was begone wnto this present tyme. And by caufs pat
 parage & cheualry accordeth paim, gif pow mak a knyght
 pat is nocht of parage, pow make[st]^a cheualry to be con-

^a MS. maketh.

¹⁻¹ Et par tel mesprisement auileroies et mespriserioies l'ordre
 de cheualerie en tant que par droiture nul vilain de cuer ne doit
 venir ne estre mis en la treshaulte honneur et ordre de cheualerie.

² R. adds—et rigle.

Carton.

trary to parage / And by this same reason / he whome
thou makest knyght is contrary to parage & to chyualry /
1 thenne thou mayst not haue soo moche power that thou
make a knyght a man of vyle courage / Forseen that to
5 the ordre of chyualrye^a thou wylt do ryght¹ / Nature is
moche honoured in trees and in beestes as touchyng to
nature corporal / But by the noblesse of the soule reson-
able whiche so moche only parteth with the herte of a
man / by cause that nature hath gretter vertue in the
10 body humayne / than in the body bestyal / ² Thus in the
same wyse thordre of Chyualry is more couenable and
moche more syttyng to a gentyl herte replenysshed wyth
al vertues than in a man vyle and of euyl lyf.² And yf

^a C. chynalrye.

Loutfut.

trary to parage. And by pis sam resoun he quhom *pow*
makest *knycht* is contrary to parage & to cheualry.
Thenn *pow* maist not haue so miche power pat *pow* mak
a *knycht* a man of vile courage, forseen pat to be ordre of
5 cheualry *pow* wilt do richt. Natur is moche honored in
treis & in beistis as tuching to natur corporal, bot by be
noblenefs of be saul resonable, quhiche so moche only
parteth with be hert of a man by caufs pat natur has
gretter vertu in be body humane pan in be body bestiall.
10 Thus in be samyn wifs thordre of cheualry is more couen-
able & moche more sytten to a gentil hert replenysshed
with al vertuys pan in a man vile & of euil lif. And gif

¹⁻¹ En quoy est doncques cheualerie. Si tu as tant de puissance
que en lordre de cheualerie tu puisses mettre homme qui nest
pas digne, a force conuient que tu aiez tant de pouair que de
la ditte ordre de cheualerie tu puisses par force traire et bouter
hors celui qui par parage est digne et conuenable estre cheualier.
Et si cheualerie a tant de vertu que tu ne lui puisses tollir son
honneur ne ceulx qui par parage lui sont conuenable, doncqs ne
peux tant auoir de pouair que tu facez cheualier domme de vil
lignage. (So in *Lull*.)

²⁻² Pour ce donqs lordre de cheualerie consent par tres nobles
coustumes et fais et par noblesse de prince, quelle puist auoir en
cheualerie aucun homme de nouuel lignage honnourable et gentil.

Caxton.

The
examiner
must in-
quire into
the squire's
habits of
life.

[* p. 53 b]

hit were otherwyse / hit shold ensiewe that Chyualry
shold¹ better agree to the nature of the body than to the
vertue of the soule / And¹ that is fals / ¹ For it better
agreeth to the soule than to the body / Noblesse of
courage apperteyneth to Chyualry¹ * / To examyne a 5
squier that wyll be a knyght behoueth to demaunde and¹
enquyre of his custommes and¹ maners / For euylle
enseyngmentes ben occasion by whiche the wycked¹
knyghtes ben put oute of the ordre of chyualrye / a dys-
couenable thyng hit is that a squyer beyng wycked¹ be 10
made a knyght / And¹ that he entre in to thordre / oute
of whiche he must yssue ² by wycked¹ fayttes and¹ dysa-
greable custommes² / ³ For chyualrye casteth out of his

Loutfut.

[* fol 95]

it war opir wifs it suld ensiewe pat cheualry schold
better agre to the natur of pe body pan to pe vertu of pe
saull, and pat is fals. * For it better agreis to pe saull
pan to pe body. Noblenefs of courage apperteneth to
cheualry. 5

To examyn a squyer pat wil be a knyght behuffed to
demand & inquer of his customis & maneris. For guil
ensengzementis bene occasioun by quhiche pe wikid
knyghtes bene put out of pe ordour of cheualry. A dis-
couenable thing it is pat a squyer beyng wiked be maid a 10
knyght, and pat he entre in to thordour out of quhiche
he must yssue by wiked fayttes and disagreeable customes.
For cheualry castis out of his ordre al pe enemys to

¹⁻¹ Car meulz se commet a lame que au corps noblesse de
courage quy affiert a cheualerie.

²⁻² R. par mauuais fais ne par desconuenables coustumes.
A. par mauuais et desconuenables fais et disagreeables coustumes.
J. par mauuais fais ne par desconuenables ne disagreeables cou-
stumes. Lull. per vils fets e per desagradables custumes.

³⁻³ Se cheualerie conuient tant seulement par force a valeur
que tous les amis de deshonneur jitte de son ordre, et se cheualerie
ne recoit en son ordre ceulx qui ont valeur et maintiennent
honestete et ayment valeur . . .

Caxton.

ordre alle the enemyes to honoure / And receyue them
that haue valeur and mayntene honeste /

¶ And yf hit were not soo / hit shold folowe that³
Chyualrye myght be destroyed in vylete / and myght not
5 be repayred / ne restored in to noblesse / And that is
fals And therefore thou knyght that examynest thesquyer
arte bounden more strongly to enserche noblesse and
valoyre in a squyer than in any other persone / ¶ Thou
knyght that hast thoffyce to examyne a squyer that wil
10 entre in to thordre of chyualrye / thou oughtest to
knowe / for what entencion thesquyer hath wil¹ for to
soiourne or for to be honoured / without that he do
* honour to chyualrye / and to them that honoure hit /
And² yf hit appiere to the / that for that cause he pre-
15 tendeth to be a knyght knowe that he is not worthy to
be maade knyght / ne for to haue thordre² / Al thus as

He must
find out
whether
the squire
is seeking
knighthood
for his own
advantage,

[* p. 54]

Loutfut.

honour & resave pain that haue valew & mantene
honeste. And gif it wer not so, it suld follow pat
cheualry mycht be distroyd in vilete, and mycht not be
reparid no restorid in to noblenes. And pat is fals.
5 And perfor thow knyght pat examynest pe squyer art
bound mair stronglie to excerfs noblefs & valeur in a
squyer pan in any opir persoun.

Thow knyght, pat has thoffice to examyn a squyer pat
will enter in thordre of cheualry, *pow* auchtest to know
10 for quhat entencioun thesquyer hath vile for to soioirn, or
for to be honored, *without* pat he do honour to cheualry
and to pem pat honour it. And gif it apper to the pat
for that caufs he pretendeth to be a knyght, know pat he
is not worthi to be maid knyht ne for to haue thordre.

How pe
examynner
is bound
strongly to
onquer for
quhat caufs
pe squyer
desire to be
maid knyht.

¹ MSS. add—destre cheualier. Car sil aime cheualerie pour
estre riche . . .

²⁻³ Sil a ceste intention il ayme et desire le deshonneur de
cheualerie, pour quoy il est indigne que par le moyen de cheualerie
il ait richesse honneur ne nul bien.

Cacton.

a sin com-
parable to
simony in
a priest.

A knight
ought to
fear dis-
honour
more than
death.

[* p. 54 b]

thentencion failleth and endeth in clerkes by Symonye /
by whiche they ben enhaunced to be prelates / ryght so an
euyll squyer falseth and setteth his wyll and entencion
whan he wyll be knyght ayenst the ordre of chyualrye /
And yf a Clerk haue symonye / in that hit is ageynst his 5
prelacye / Ryght so a squyer that hath fals entencion to
thoffyce of chyualry / is ayest thordre of chyualry / what
someuer he doth A squyer that desyreth Chyualrye / hym
behoueth to knowe the grete charge and the peryls / that
ben apparaylled to them / that wyll haue chyualrye and 10
mayntene it / A knyght ought more to doubte the blame
of the people and his dishonoure / than he shold the
perylle of dethe / & ought to gyue gretter passion to his
corage than hongre ne thurste / hete ne cold¹ maye gyue
to his body / ¶ And² by cause² alle the peryls oughte 15
to be shewed and told* to the squyer tofore er he be
adoubed or made knyght / Chyualry may not be mayntened

Loutfut.

[* fol. 95 b]

All pus as thentencoun falleith & endeth in clerkes by
Symoney, by quhich pai ben enhaunced to be prelat^{is},
rycht so ane euyll squyer falseth & setteth his will &
entencoun quhen he wilbe knyght aganis thordre^a of
cheualry. And gif a clerk haf Symony, in pat it is 5
aganyis his prelacye. Rycht so a squyer pat has fals
entencoun to thoffice of cheualry is aganyis thordre of
cheualry, quhat sumeuer he doith. A squyer pat desireth
cheualry him behuffit to know pe gret charge & pe perell
pat ben appareld to pain pat will haf cheualry & 10
manteyn it. A knyt aucht more to dout pe blam of his
puple * & his dishonour pan he suld pe perell of detht,
& oucht to gif grettar passioun to his courage pan hongre,
thruste, hete no could may gyue to his body. And be-
caufs all pe perellis aucht to be schawid and tald to pe 15
squyer tofore or he be a-doubed or made^b Knyt.

^a MS. pe thordre.

^b MS. may de.

¹ *AJ.* add—ne autre mesaise.

^{2—2} pour ce.

Cuxton.

- without harnoys whiche apperteyneth to a knyght / ¹ nor withoute thonourable costes and dispences whiche apperteyne to chyualrye ¹ / By cause a squyer beyng withoute harnoys / And that hath no rychesse for to make his
- 5 dispences / yf he be made knyght / hym shold peraventure happe for nede to be a robbour / a theef / traire lyar or begylour / or haue some other vyces whiche ben contrary to Chyualry / A man lame / or ouer grete or ouer fatte / or that hath any other euyl disposycion in his body / For
- 10 whiche he may not vse thoffyce of chyualrye is not suffysaunt to be a knygt For hit shold not be honest to thordre of chyualrye / yf she receyued a man for to bere armes / whiche were entatched corrupt & not myghty / For so moche noble & hye is Chyualry in
- 15 hyr honour / that a squyer lame of any membre / how

He must be rich enough to sustain the expenses of his rank,

lest he should be driven by need to crime. A knight must not be maimed or over fat.

Loutfut.

- Cheualry may not be mantened without harnes quhiche appertenys to a knygt, nor without thonorable costes and dispences quhiche appertenys to cheualry. Becaus a squyer being without harnois and pat has na riches for
- 5 to mak his dispencis, gif he be maid knyght him suld perauentour happe for neid to be a robbour, a theif, traithar or begilour, or haf sum opir vices quhich bene contrary to cheualry.
- A man lame, or ouere grett, or ouer fatt, or that has
- 10 any opir euill disposicioun in his body for quhiche he may not vse thoffice of cheualry, is not suffisaunt to be a knyght. For it suld nocht be honest to thordre of cheualry, gif she receyued a man for to beire armys quhiche war entatcht to be corrupt & not mychty. For
- 15 so moche noble & hie is cheualry in hire honour that a squyer lame of any membre, how weill pat he be noble

Of be fautis aganis cheualry.

Of certane caufs pat lettis be squyer to entre in be ordre of cheualry.

Carton.

The squire
must never
have done a
treacherous
deed.
[* p. 55]

He must
not be vain-
glorious

or a
flatterer,

wel that he be noble and ryche / & borne of noble
lygnage is not dygne ne worthy to be receiued in to
thordre of chyualrye / & after also ouzt to be enquiryed
& demaunded of thesqyer / * that demaundeth chyualry /
yf he euer dyd any falsenesse or trechery whiche is 5
ayenst thordre of chyualry / For suche a fait may he
haue done / & yet but lytyl sette by hit / that he is
not worthy that chyualry shold receyue hym in to his
ordre / ne that he be made felawe of them / that mayntene
thordre of chyualrye / yf a squyer haue vayne glorie of 10
that he doth / he is not worthy to be a knyght / For
vayne glory is a vyce / whiche destroyeth & bryngeth
to nought the merytes & guerdons of the benefyce of
chyualry / A squyer a flaterer discordeth to thordre of
chyualrye / For a man beyng a flaterer¹ corrupteth good¹⁵
entencion / By the whiche corrupcion^a is destroyed &

^a C. corruppon.

Loutfut.

& riche & born of noble lygnage, is not digne no worthi
to be receyued in to thordre of cheualry.

And eftir also oucht to be enquired & demandit of þe
squyer þat demandeth cheualry gif he eu[er]^a did any
falsnes or trechery quiche [is]^b agane thordre of cheualry. 5
For suche a fait may he haue done & [ye]^c bot litill
seett by it, that he is not worthi þat cheualry suld receyue
him in to his ordre, ne that he be maid felow of þem þat
manteinynd thordre of cheualry. Gif a squyer haf vane
glore of þat he dois, he is not worthi to be a knyht. For 10
vangloir is a vice quibiche distroys and bryngeth to nocht
þe meritis & guerdons of þe benefice * of cheualry. A
squyer, a flatterar, discordeth to thordre of cheualry, for
a man beyng a flatterar corrupteth gud entencioun, by þe
quich corrupcion is distroyd ande corrupte þe nobleness 15

Of van-
gloire.
Of prid.
Of þaim þat
wantis
courage.
Aueryce.
Of learis,
trewth,
slouth.
[* fol. 96]

^a MS. euyl.

^b MS. Om.

^c MS. þat.

¹ R. blandisseur ou flateur. AJ. chueur ou flateur.

Caxton.

corrupt the noblesse that apperteyneth to the courage of
 a knyght / A squyer prowde / euylle taught / ful of
 vylaynous wordes / and of vylayne courage / auarycious /
 a lyar / vntrewe / slouthful / a glouton / periured / or
 5 that hath any other vyces semblable Accordeth not to
 chyualry / Thenne yf chyualry myght receyue them /
 that ben ayenst thordre / hit shold folowe that in
 chyualry ordynance^a and disordynance were one^{*} propre
 thyng /¹ And whan sith chyualry is knowen for the ordre
 10 of valoir / therfor euery squyer ought to be examyned¹
 to fore er he be made knyght.

nor must
 he have
 any gross
 vices.

[* p. 55 b]

^a C. ordynance.

Loutfut.

pat pertenyis to cheualry & to pe^a courage of a knyght.
 A squyer prowde, euyl taught, full of velaynis wordis and
 of vilayne courage, auaricioufs, a lyar, wntrew, slouthfull,
 a glouton, periured, or pat has any opir vices semblable,
 5 accordeth not to cheualry. Than gif cheualry mycht
 resaif pem pat bene aganis thordre of cheualry, it suld
 follow pat in cheualry, ordynance and disordynance wer
 one propre thing. And quhen sic cheualry is knowen for
 pe ordre of valoir, perfor euery squyer aucht to be
 10 examyned tofore or he be maid knyght.

Of paine pat
 wantis
 courage

Aueryce.

Of learis,

trewth,

slouth.

^a MS. tho pe.

¹⁻¹ R. mais non est. Pour ce doit estre examine diligamment
 lescuyer. JA. Et quant cheualerie est pure ordonnance de vallour,
 pour ce doit estre examine lescuyer.

Caxton.

¶ In what maner a squyer ought to be receyued in to thordre of chyualrye

After confessing his sins,

the squire on the night before ordination

fasts and prays.

AT the begynnyng that a Squyer ought to entre in to thordre of chyualry / hym behoueth that he cōfesse hym of his deffaultes that he hath done ageynst god / & ouzt to receyue chyualry in entencion that in the same he serue¹ our lord god / ² whiche is glorious² / And yf he be clene out of synne / he ouzt to receyue his sauour / For to make³ & adoube³ a knyzt / it apperteyneth the day of some grete feste / as Crystemas / Ester / Whitson-tyd / or on suche dayes solempne / bycause that by the honour of the feste assemble moche peple⁴ in that place where thesquyer ought^a to be adoubed kni3t⁴ / & god ouzt to be adoured & praid that he gyue to hym grace for to lyue wel after thordre of chyualry / Thesquyer ouzt to

^a C. onght.

Loutfut.

In quat manere a squyer aucht to be resaiffit in thordre of cheualre.

Confession.

pat he ordre suld be gyuen on sum solempnt day:

he squyer aucht to fast

AT the begynnyng pat a squyer aucht to entre in to thordre of cheualry, him behuffis pat he confes him of his defaltis pat he has done aganis God, & oucht to resaif cheualry in entencioun pat in pe sam he serue our Lord God quhiche is glorioufs, and gif he be clene out of syn he oucht to resaif his Saviour. For to mak & adoube a knycht it apperteneth pe day of sum gret fest, as Cristemes, Ester, Witsonted, or on suche dais solempnt, bycaufs pat by pe honour of pe fest assemble moche peple in pat place quhar pe squyer aucht to be adoubed knycht, and God aucht to be adoured & prayd pat he gif to him grace pat he lyue wele after thordre of cheualry. The squyer oucht to fast pe vigill of the

¹ MSS. add—et honneure.

²⁻² R. ihesu crist. JA. glorieux.

³⁻³ Om.

⁴⁻⁴ R. pour veoir lescuyer adouber cheuallier. JA. as Cax

Carton.

faste the vygylle of the same feste in thonour of the
 saint / of whom the fest is made that day / & he ouȝt to
 go to the chirche for * to pray god. & ouȝt to wake the [* p. 56]
 nyȝt & be in his prayers / & ouȝt to here the word of god/
 5 & touchyng the fait of chyualry / for yf he otherwyse
 here janglours & rybauldes that speke of putery & of
 synne he sholde begynne thēne to dishonoure chyualrye
 1 On the morn after the feste¹ in the which he hath be In the
morning he
attends a
mass
 adoubed / hym behoueth that he do a masse to be songen
 10 solempnly / & thesquyer^a ouȝt to come to fore thaulter /
 & offre to the preest which holdeth the place of our lord²
 to thonour of whom he must oblige & submyse hym self and swears
the oath of
chivalry.
 to keepe thonour of chyualry with al his power / jn that
 same day ouȝt to be made a sermon / in which shold be A sermon is
preached,
 15 recoūted & declared the xii artycles in which is fōuded

^a C. thesquyer.

Loutfut.

samyn fest in honour of þe saint of quham þe fest is þe vigil of
þe sam fest.
 maid þat day, and he oucht to go to þe chirche for to
 pray God, & oucht to walk þe nycht & be in his praeris,
 and oucht to here þe word of God & touchyng þe fait of
 5 cheualry. For gif he opirwifs here jangleris & rebaldis
 þat spek of putery & of syn, he suld begyn þan to
 dishonour cheualry.

On þe morn eftir þe fest in þe quhich he hath be Nota of þe
mefs.
[* fol. 90 b]
 a-doubed, him behuffis þat he do a *mefs to be songyn
 10 solemply, and þe squyer aucht to cum to thaultre and
 offre^a to þe prest quhiche holdeth þe place of our Lord,
 to honour of quhom he must oblich & submyse him self
 to keip þe honour of cheualry with al his power. In þat
 sam day aucht to be maid a sermond, in quhich he suld
 15 be recontyt & declarit þe xii artikillis in quhich is foundit

^a MS. offret.

¹⁻¹ Lendemain de la feste.

² MSS. add—et lordre de cheualerie.

Caston.

tholy faith catholik / the x cōmādemētis & the vii sacramēts of holy chireh / & thother thynges that apperteinen to the faith / & the squyer ouzt moch dylygently to take hede & reteyne al these thynges / to thēde he kepe in his mynde thoffice of chyualry touchynge the thynges that 5 apperteynen to the faith

Loutfut.

pe holy faith catholik, pé x commandmentis, and pe vii sacramentis of pe haly kirk, and thopir thingis pat apperteneth to pe faith. And pe squyer aucht moche diligently to tak heid & retene al this thingis to thend he keip in his mynd thoffice of cheualry touchyng pe 5 thingis pat appertenen to pe faith.

Enumeration of the Articles and Commandments, p. 69. It is here that *R.* differs most from the other versions. *R.* Les cinq articles sont telz. Le premier est croire en dieu le pere tout puissant createur du ciel et de la terre. Le second est croire le filz nostre seigneur ihesu crist racheteur de l'humain lignage qui estoit iugie aux paines denfer par le pechie de adam nostre premier pere. Le tiers est croire le benoit saint esprit procedant du pere et du filz, croire que ce sont trois personnes en une seulle deite et ce est la glorieuse sainte trinite que tout bon crestien doit croire. Le quart est croire la beneuree societe ou compaignie des glorieux sains et saintes que dieu a glorifiez en son saint paradis. Le v^e. est croire nostre mere sainte eglise que dieu a ordonnee pour voye et chemin de nostre saulvement. Et ces v. articles appartiennent a la deite. Les vii. autres appartiennent a l'humanite. Dont le premier est croire que le fil de dieu fut conceu du saint esprit en la glorieuse vierge marie quant le saint archangle gabriel luy annonca en disant Ave maria gratia plena dominus tecū. Le second est croire que ihesu crist soit ne de la glorieuse vierge marie. Le iii^e. est croire quil ait este crucifie et mort soulz ponce pylate pour nous sauluer. Le iiij est croire que son ame deuala en enfer pour deliurer ses amis cest a scauoir adam abraham et les autres sains patriarches et prophetes qui croient le saint aduenement de ihesu crist le fil de dieu. Le v^e. est croire que ihesucrist monta ou ciel le jour de l'ascension et siet a la dextre de dieu son pere tout puissant. Le vii^e. est croire que ihesucrist rendra au jour du jugement quant tous seront resuscitez en char et en os, bons et mauuais, et rendra aux bons ioye perdurable ou royaulme du ciel que son pere leur a prepare. Aux mauuais donnera sentence de dampnation eternele. Ainsi aura chascun son loyer selon ce quil aura deseruy en ce monde transitoire. Ces xii articles ensamble conuient croire quy sont vrais tesmoingz de dieu et de ses eures quil a faittes. Car sans ces articles nul homme ne se peut sauuer. Aprez sont les x commandemens que dieu donna a moyses sur le mont

Caxton.

¹The xii artycles¹ ben suche / to bileue one god only / that is the first / and ² it behoueth to byleue / that the Fader / the Sone / and * the holy ghost ben one god only in thre persones without ende & without begynnynge
5 whiche make vnto the fourth artycle.² To byleue that god is creatoure & maker of al thynges is the fyfth / The syxthe is to byleue that god is redemer / that is to say that he hath redemed³ or bought ageyne³ the humayne lygnage fro the paynes of helle to which hit was Iuged
10 by / the synne of Adam & Eue our fyrst fader & moder / The vii is to byleue that god gaf glory to them that ben in heuen / These vii artycles apperteyne to the

concerning
the articles
of the faith,

[* p. 56 b]

Loutfut.

pe xij artikillis ben such. To byleue on God only, pat is pe first. And it behuffit to byleve that pe Fader, pe Sone & pe Hali Gast bene [o]n[e]^a God only in thre personys without end and without begynnyng, quhich
5 mak wnto the fourth artikil. To byleue pat God is creatur & maker of al thingis is pe fift. The saxt is to byleue pat God is redemar, pat is to say pat he hath redemyt or bocht agane pe humane lygnage fro pe panys of Hell, to quhiche it was jugit by pe syn of Adam &
10 Eue, our first fader & moder. The vij is to beleve pat God gef glorie to pem pat bene in hevin. Thes vij

pe xij
artikillis.

^a MS. in.

de synay. Le premier est Tu croiras ung seul dieu et celui aymeras seruiras et honnoureras de toute ta force. Le ii^e es Ne soyas pariure. Le iii^e est Saintifie le dimence et les festes. Le iiij^e est honnoure ton pere et ta mere. Le v^e est Ne fais homicide ne murdre. Le vi^e est Ne fais point fornication. Le vii^e est Ne fais point larrecin. Le viii^e est Ne porte point faulz tesmoignage. Le ix^e est ne couuoite pas la femme de ton prouchain. Le x^e est ne couuoite pas les biens daultruy.

¹⁻¹ *AJ.*, etc. Les xiiii articles. *O.*'s error is also found in P. 1972, 19810.

²⁻² croire le pere, le filz et le saint esprit sont trois articles, et conuient que homme croye que le pere et le filz et le saint esprit soient un dieu entierement sans fin et sans commencement.

³⁻³ Om.

Caxton.

deyte / and thother folowyng apperteynen to thumanyte /
 that the sone of god took in our lady seynt Mary / The
 first of the vii arteycles folowyng to thumanyte is to
 byleue that Ihesu cryst was conceyued^a of the holy
 ghost / whan saynt gabriel tharchaügel salewed our lady / 5
¹ The second & thyrd is to byleue that he hath be crucefyed
 & dede for to saue us The fourth is to byleue that his
 soule deualed in to helle¹ for to delyuere his frendes /
 That is to wete Adam / Abraham & other prophetes
 whiche byleued his holy comyng / The v is to byleue 10
 that he be reysed fro deth to lyf The *vi is to byleue that
 he styed vp in to heuen the day of ascencion / The vii is to
 byleue that jhesu cryst shal come at the day of jugement

[*p. 57]

^a C. conceyned.*Loutfut.*

artikill[is]^a pertenyys to pe deyte & thother folloyng
 apperteneth to thumanyte, pat pe Son of^b God tuk in our
 Lady Saint Mary. The first of pe vij artikillis following
 to humanyte is to byleue pat Jhesu Crist wes consauit of
 pe Hali Gast quhen Saint Gabriell the Archangell salust 5
 our Lady. The secound & thirde is to byleue pat he hath
 ben crucifixt & ded to saif ws. The ferd is to byleue pat
 his soule deualit in to Hell to deliuer his frendis, pat is
 to wit Adam, Abraham & opir prophetis qulich bylenyd
 his holy cummyyn. The fift is pat he be rassit fra ded to 10
 life. The saxt is to byleue pat he stiyt wp in pe Hevin
 pe day of ascensioun. The *vij is to byleue pat Jhesu
 Crist sal cum at pe day of Jugement, quhen all sall rifs,

[*fol. 97]

^a MS. artikill.^b MS. pat.

1-1 A. Le second est croire que iesu crist soit ne. Le tiers est croire que son ame denalast en enfer. . . . A. omits the fourth article altogether. J. has the correct reading—Le second est croire que iesu crist soit ne. Le tiers est croire quil ait este crucifie et mort pour nous sauuer. Le quart est croire que son ame denallast en enfer. . . .

Caxton.

- whan al shal aryse / & shal Iuge the good & euyl / &
 shal gyue to eueryche payne & glory after that he hath
 deseryd in this transytory world / jt behoueth to al good
 crysten men to byleue these artycles whiche ben very
 5 wytnesse of god & of his werkes / For without these
 artycles nomā may be saued / The comaūdements of god
 whiche he gaf to moyses vpon the moūt of Synay ben x /
 The fyrst is / that thou shalt adoure / loue / & shalt
 serue al only one god Ne thou shalt not be pariured /
 10 halowe & sanctifye the sonday / honoure thy fader &
 moder Ne be thou none homycyde ne murderer / do no
 thefte ne fornicaciō / Ne bere thou no false wytnesse / ne
 coneyte the wyf of thy neyghbour / ne haue thou none
 enuye of the goodes of thy neyghbour / To alle knyghtes
 15 it behoueth to knowe the x comaūdements that god hath
 gyuen / The sacraments of holy chirch ben vii / that is to
 wete / baptysme / cōfyrmacion / the sacramēt of thaulter /

the com-
mandments

and the
sacraments.

Loutfut.

- and sal juge þe gud & evil, and sal gyue to euerych pane
 & glore eftir þat he has derservit in þis transistory world.
 It behuffeth to al gud Cristin men to byleue þes artikillis
 quhiche bene verray witnes of God and of his werkis.
 5 For without þis artikillis na man may be saiffit.
 The *commandmentis* of God quhiche he gef to Moyses
 apou þe Mont of Synay ben x. The first is þat þow sal
 adoure, loue & sal serue all only on God. Ne þow salt
 nocht be periured. Halowe & sanctify þe Sonday.
 10 Honour þi fader & moder. Ne be þow non homycid ne
 murtherar. Do no thift ne fornicacione. Ne bere þow
 fals witnes, ne covate þe wif of þi nyghtpur, ne haf þow
 non invy of þe gudis of þi nyghtpur. To al knyghtis it
 behuffeth to know þe x *commandmentis* þat God has
 15 gifin.

The *sacramentis* of haly chirche bene vij, þat is to wit
 baptising, *confirmacion*, the sacrament of thalter, ordre,

[*Carton.*

* p. 57 b) ¹ ordre / maryage / penaūce & vnc^{*}tion¹ / By these vii sacraments we hope al to be saued / And a knyght is bouēden by his othe to honoure / & accomplysse these seuen sacraments / And therfor it apperteyneth to euery knyght that he knowe wel his offyce / and the thynges 5 to whiche he is bouēden / syth that he hath receyued thordre of knyghthode / And alle these thynges to fore said / & of other that apperteyne to chyualry. the prechour ought to make mencion that precheth in the presence of the squyer / whiche ought to pray moche 10 deuoutely that god gyue to hym his grace & his blessing / by whiche he may be a good knyght al the dayes of his lyf fro thenne forthon whan the prechour hath sayd al thys that apperteyneth to his office / Thenne must the prynce or baron that wyl make thesquyer & adoube hym 15 a knyght / haue in hym self the vertue & ordre of

The character of the knight who confers the order must be blameless.

Loutfut.

mariage, pennance & vnction. By pis vij sacramentis we hope al to be saiffit, and a knyght is bundin by his aith to honour and accomplefs pe vij sacramentis. And perfor it apperteneth to euery knyght pat he knaw weill his office and pe thingis pe quich he is bundin, sith pat he haue 5 receyued thordre of knyghthod. And al pis thingis tofore said, and of opir pat appertenen to cheualry, pe prechour oucht mak mencion pat prechis in pe present of pe squyer, quiche oucht to pray moche deuotlie pat God gif to him his grace and his blissing, by quiche he may be a 10 gud knyght al pe dais of his lif fro thenn forthan.

Quhen the prechour has said all pis pat apperteneth to his office, pan must pe prince or baroun, pat wil mak pe squyer & a-doube him a knyght, haue in him self pe

¹—*R.* ordre de prebstrise, mariage, penitance ou confession et la desraine unction. *A.* ordre, de mariage, penitance, unction. *J.* has exactly the same as *Cax.* *Lull* has the following for "ordre"—Les ordines q̄l bisbe fa con fa preuere et diaque et subdiaque. (The rites that the bishop performs when he makes a priest, deacon and subdeacon.)

Carton.

chyualry / For yf the knyght that maketh knyghtes is
 not vertuous / how maye he gyue that / whiche he hath
 not / Suche a knyght is of werse condycion than be
 the plantes / For the plantes haue power to gyue their
 5 natures the one to the other / And of beestes and of
 * fowles is also a thyng semblable & lyke / But this may [* p. 58]
 not the knyght do / Suche a knyght is euyl & false / that
 disordynatly wyl multiplye his ordre / For he doth
 wrong & vylonye to chyualry / For he wil do that / the
 10 whiche is not couenable thyng to do / & that by whiche
 he ought to honoure chyualry he dyffeateth & blameth /
 Thenne yf by deffaulte of suche a knyght / it happe
 somtyme that the squyer that receyueth of hym Chyualry /
 is not so moche ayded ne mayntened of the grace of our
 15 lord / ne of vertue ne of chyualry / as he shold be yf he
 were made of a good & loyal knyght / ² And therfor
 suche a squyer is a foole and ¹ al other semblably ¹ that of

Loutfut.

vertu & ordour of cheualry. For gif þe knyht þat maketh
 knyghtis is nocht vertuys, how may he gif þat quhiche he
 has nocht? Suche a knyght is of wers condicioun þ[an]^a be
 þe plantis,* for þe plantes haue power to gif þe natures [* fol. 97b]
 5 þe one to þe other, and of bestis & of foullis is also a
 thing semblable and lik. Bot þis may not þe knyght do.
 Suche a knyght is evill & fals þat disordynatly will
 multiply his ordre, for he doith wrang & vilany to
 cheualry. For he wil do that þe quhiche is not couen-
 10 able thing to do, and þat by quhiche he oucht to honour
 cheualry he deffeateth & blameth. Thenn gif by defaulte
 of suche a knyght it happe sumtyme þat þe squyer
 þat resaisfis of him cheualry is not so moche ayded ne
 mantened of þe grace of our Lord, ne of vertu, ne of
 15 cheualry, as he suld be gif he wer maid of a gud & loyal
 knyght. And þerfor suche a squyer is a foole & al opir

*Nota þat he
 suld be a
 knyght of
 gud lif &
 without
 reprof þat
 suld gif
 thordre of
 cheualry or
 mak a
 knyght or
 ellis he dol
 evill to be
 squyer
 quhilk suld
 resauie þe
 ordre.*

^a MS. þat.

Caxton.

The
ceremony of
ordination.

[* p. 58 b]

The new
knight
shows him-
self to the
people,

suche a knyght receyueth thordre of chyualry ² / The squyer ought to knele to fore thaulter / & lyfte vp to god his eyen corporal & spyritual / & his hondes to heuen / & the knyzt ought to gyrd¹ hym in sygne of Chastite / Iustyce / ² & of charyte with his swer³ / The knyght 5 ought to ² kysse the squyer / and to gyue to hym a palme / by cause that he be remembryng of that whiche ³ he receyueth and ³ promytteth / and of the grete ⁴ charge / in * whiche he is obliged & bounden / & of the grete honoure that he receyueth by thordre of chyualry / And 10 after whan the knyght espyrytuel / that is the preest / & the knyzt terrien haue done that apperteyneth to theyr offyce / as touchyng to the making of a newe knyght / The newe knyght ought to ryde thurgh the toun / & to shewe hym to the peple / to thende that al men knowe & 15

Loutfut.

semblably pat of suche a knyght resaffis thordre of cheualry.

Of þe maner
how a
knycht suld
ben.

Nota þat þe
new maid
knycht suld
rid & schaw
him to þe
peple.

The squyer oucht to kneil tofore thaulter and lift wp his eene corporall & spirytual and his handis to Hevyn. And þe knyght oucht to gird him in signe of chastite, 5 justice, & of charite with his suerd. The kny[cht] ^a ought to kisse þe squyer and to gif to him a palm by caufs pat he be remembring of pat quhiche he receyueth & promytteth, and of þe gret charge in quhiche he is obliged & bondyn, and of the gret honour pat he receyued 10 by thordre of cheualry. And eftir quhen þe knyght espirituell, pat is the preest, and þe knyght terrien haue done pat apperteneth to þer office as touching to þe making of a new knyght, the new knyght oucht to rid thro þe toun and to schaw him to þe peple to thend pat 15

^a MS. knyfe.

¹ ceindre lepee.

²⁻² Et en signiffiance de charite le cheualier doit. . . .

³⁻³ Om.

⁴ R. Om.

Caxton.

see that he is newly made knyght / And that he is
 bounden to mayntene & deffende the hyhe honour of
 chyualry / For so moche shal he haue more gretter
 refraynyng to do euyl / For by his shame that he shall
 5 haue of the peple that shal knowe his chyualry / he shal
 withdrawe hym so moche the more for to mespryse
 ayenst thordre of chyualry / At that same day hym
 behoueth to make a grete feste / & to gyue fair
 yeftes & grete dyners / to iouste & sporte & doo other
 10 thynges that apperteyne to thordre of chyualry / ¹ & to
 gyue to kynges of armes and to herowdes as it is acus-
 tomed of aūcyente ¹ / & the lord that maketh a newe
 knyzt / ouzt to yeue to the newe knyzt also a present or
 yefte / And also the newe * knyzt ought to yeue to hym
 15 and to other that same day / For who so receyueth so
 grete a yefte as is thordre of chyualry / honoureth not his
 ordre / yf he gyue not / after the power that he may

provides a
great feast,

and gives
largesse to
the heralds.

The knights
exchange
gifts.

[* p. 59]

Loutfut.

al men know & see pat he is newly maid knyght, and
 pat he is bounden to mantene & defend pe heich honour
 of cheualry. For so moche sal he haf more gretter
 refrayng to do euyll. For by his shame pat he sal haue
 5 of pe peple pat sal know his cheualry he sall withdraw
 him so moche pe more for to mespris aganis thordre of
 * cheualry.

[* fol. 98]

And pat sammyn day him behuffeth to mak a gret
 fest, and to gif fair yeftes & gret diners, to just and sport,
 10 & do opir thingis pat apperteneth to thordre of cheualry,
 and to gif to kingis of armes & to heraldis, as it is
 acustomed of aūcyente. And pe lord pat maketh a new
 knyght ought to yeue to pe new knyght also a present or
 gift. And also pe new knyght aucht to gif to him and
 15 to other pat sammyn day. For quho so resavit so gret
 a gift as thordre of cheualry honoreth not his ordre gif
 he gif not eftir pe power pat he may gif. Also thes

Nota of pe
fest pat pe
new maid
knyght suld
exeris pe
office of
cheualry pe
sammyn
day he re-
saiffis pe
ordour.

The prince
ought to gif
a reward to
pe new
knyght
quham he
has maid.

Caxton.

gyue / All these thynges and many other / the whiche I
wyll not now recounthe bycause of shortnesse of tyme /
apperteyne to Chyualry

¶ Of the sygnefyaunce of the armes of a knyght

As every
priestly
vestment
has a
spiritual sig-
nification,

so has every
piece of
knightly
armour.

The arms
and their
spiritual
meaning.
1. The
sword :
defeat of
the enemies
of the Cross.
[* p. 59 b]

THenne that whiche the preest reuestyth hym whan 5
he syngeth the masse / hath somme sygnefyaunce /
whiche concordeth to his offyce / And the offyce of
presthode & of chyualry haue grete concordance /
Therfor thordre of chyualry requyreth that al that whiche 10
is nedeful to a knyght / as touchynge the vse of his offyce
haue somme sygnefyaunce / By the whiche is sygnefyed
the noblesse of Chyualrye and of his ordre /

¶ Vn to a knyght is gyuen a Swerke / * whiche is made
in semblaunce of the crosse for to sygnefyen hou our lord
god vaynequysshed in the Crosse the dethe of humayn 15
lygnage / to the whiche he was Iuge for the synne of
oure fyrste fader Adam / Al in lyke wyse a knyght oweth

Loutfut.

thinges & many othir þe quhiche I will not now recount
by caufs of schortnes of tyme appertene to chyualry.

Nota þat þe
new maid
knycht
aucht to gif
rewardis to
thoffaris
of armes or
ellis he dois
not his det.

Off the signifiante of þe armes of a knycht.

Quhen þat quhiche þe prest reuestith him quhen he 5
si[n]geth^a þe mefs hathe sum signyfiante quich
concordeth to his office. And thoffice of presthed and
cheualry has gret concordance. Tharfor þe ordre of
cheualry requireth þat al þat quhiche is nedful to a
knycht as touching þe vse of his office haf sum signifiante,
by þe quhiche is signyfid þe noblenes of cheualry & of 10
his ordre.

Nota of þe
suerd.

Wnto a knycht is giffin a suerd quhiche is maid in
semblance of þe eroice for to signify how our Lord God
signyfid & vengust in þe Croice þe detht of humane
lygnage, to þe quhiche he wes juget for þe syn of our first 15
fader Adam ; and in likwifs a knycht aucht to vengufs &

^a MS. signeth.

Carton.

to vaynquysshē and destroye the enemyes of the crosse /
 by the swerd / For chyualrye is to mayntene Iustyce /
 And therefore is the swerd made cuttynge on bothe sydes /
 to sygnefyē that the knyght ought with the swerd
 5 mayntene chyualrye and Iustyce To a knyght is gyuen a
 spere / for to sygnefyē trouthe / For trouthe is a thyng
 ryght and euen / And that trouthe oughte to go tofore
 falsenesse / And the yron or hede of the spere sygnefyeth
 strengthe / whiche trouthe ought to haue aboue falsenesse
 10 And the penone sygnefyeth / that trouthe sheweth to
 alle feythe / and hath no drede ne fere of falsenesse ne of
 trecherye / And veryte is susteynyngē of hope / and also
 of other thynges / whiche ben sygnefyed by the spere of
 the knyght / The hatte of ^a steel or yron¹ is gyuen to the
 15 knyght to sygnefyē shamefastnes / For a knyght withoute
 * shamefastnesse maye not be obeyssaunt to thordre of

Its edges :
 chivalry
 and justice

2. The
 spear :
 truth.

3. The
 helmet :
 dread of
 shame.
 [* p. 60]

^a C. or.

Loutfut.

distroy þe enemyes of þe Crosse by þe suerd, for cheualry
 is for to mantene justice. *And therfor is þe suerd maid
 cuttyng on both sides to signify þat þe knyght oucht
 with þe suerd manteine cheualry & iustice. [^a fol. 98 b]
 5 To a knyght is giffin a sper for to signify trewth . . . Of þe sper.
 oucht to go tofore falsnes. And þe yrn or heid of þe
 speir signifyth strenth quhich trouthe oucht to haue abou
 falsnes. And þe pennoun signifyis þat trouthe sheweth
 to al f[aith],^a and has ne dred no fere of falsnes ne of
 Of þe pen-
 noun.
 10 trechery. And verite is sustenyng off hoip, and also of
 opir thingis quhiche bene signified by þe sper of þe
 knyght.
 The hatte of ^b steill or yrn is gevin to þe knyght to sig-
 nifye shamefastnes. For a knyght [with]out^c shamefastnes
 Of þe hatt
 of steill.
 15 may not be obeysand to thordre of cheualry. And al þus

^a MS. ficht.

^b MS. or.

^c MS. forout.

Carton.

4. The
haubergeon:
a defence
against vice.

chyualrye / ¶ And al thus as shamefastnes maketh a man
to be ashamed and causeth to caste doune his eyen ayenst
the erthe / In lyke wyse the hatte of yron deffendeth a
man to loke vpward on hyhe & maketh hym to loke
toward the ground & is the moyen bytwene the thynges 5
hyhe & lowe / For it coueryth the hede of a man which is
the most hye & pryncipal mēbre p^t is in the body of a man /
Also shamefastnes deffendeth the knyght whiche hath the
most noble offyce & most hyhe that is next thoffyce of a
clerk / that he encline ne bowe hym not to vyllaynous 10
faytes and horryble / ¹ & that the noblesse of his courage
abādoune hym ne gyue hym to barate / wickednesse / ne
to ony euyll enseyguement ¹ / The hauberke sygnefyeth a
castel & fortresse ² ageynst vices & deffaultes ² / For al in
lyke wyse as a castel and fortresse ben closed al aboute ³ / 15
In lyke wyse an hauberke is ferme & cloos on al partes /
to thende that hit gyue sygnefyaūce to a noble knyght /

Loutfut.

as shamfastnes maketh a man to be ashamyd and causeth
to cast doun his een aganis pe erth, in lik wifs pe
hatt of yrn defendeth a man to luk wpwart on
hie, & maketh him to luk towart pe ground, & is pe
moyene bytwene pe thingis hie & law. For it couerith 5
pe hed of a man quhich is pe most hie & principall
membre pat is in pe body of a man. Also shamfastnes
defendeth pe knyght, quhich has the most noble office
and most hie pat is nixt thoffice of a clerk, pat he encline
ne bow him not to velanous faytes & horrible, and pat pe 10
nobles of his courage abandoun him ne gyue him to
barett, wikitnes, ne to ony evil ensengzement.

Nota of the
haubarke.

The haubarb signyfeth a castell & fortresfs aganys vices
& defaltis, for al inlikwifs as a castell & fortresfs
bene closit al about, in likwifs an auberke is ferm & clofs 15
in al partis, to thend pat it gif signifiāunce to a noble

¹⁻¹ R. Om.

²⁻² R. Om.

³ MSS. add—adfin que homme ny puist entrer.

Caxton.

that he in his courage ought not to entre in to Treason ¹ /
 ne none other vyce / Chauces * of yron / or legge harnoys
 ben gyuen to a knyght for to kepe and holde surely his
 legges and feet from perylle / to sygnefye that a knyzt
 5 with yron ouzt to holde hym vpon the wayes / that is to
 vnderstonde / with the swerd / spere and mace. and other
 garnementes of yron ² for to take the malefactours / and to
 punyssh them ² / The spores ben gyuen to a knyght to
 sygnefye dylygence and swyftnesse / ³ by cause that with
 10 these two thynges every knyght may mayntene his ordre
 in the hyhe honour / that bylongeth to it ³ / For in lyke
 wyse as with the spores he prycketh his hors / by cause to
 haste hym to renne / ryght so doth dylygence haste hym
 to doo his thynges / and maketh hym to procure the
 15 harnoys and the dyspences that ben nedeful to a knyght /
 to the ende / that a man be not surpysed ne taken

5. Leg
harness :
a knight's
duty to
punish
malefactors.
[* p. 60 b]

6. The
spurs :
swyftness
and
diligence.

Loutfut.

knycht pat he in his courage aucht not to entre in to
 treasoun ne non opir vice.

Chauces of yrn or leg harnes bene giffin to a knycht for
 to keip and hald surely his leggis & feit fro perell, * to
 5 signifye pat a knycht with yrn oucht to hald him vpon
 pe wayes, pat is to wndestond, with pe suerd, sper and
 mafs and othir garnamentis of yrn for to tak the male-
 factours and to punyfs paim.

Of leg
harnes.
[* fol. 99]

The sparris ben giffin to a knycht to signifye diligens &
 10 swiftnes, becaufs pat with thes two thingis every knycht
 ma mantene his ordre in pe hie honour pat belangeth to
 it. For in likwifs as with pe sparris he prikketh his hors
 becaufs to hast him to ryn, ryght so doth diligence hast
 him to do his thingis, & maketh him to procour pe
 15 harnes & pe dyspences pat bene nedful to a knyht to pe
 end pat a man be not supprised no taken sudanly.

Of pe
sparris.

¹ MSS. add—orgueil desloyaulte.

²⁻² Om.

³⁻³ R. Om.

Caxton.

7. The
gorget :
obedience.

[* p. 61]

8. The
mace :
strength of
courage.

sodenly / ¶ The gorget is gyuen to a knyght to sygnefye
obedyence / For¹ euery knyght that is not obeysaunt to
his lord ne to the ordre of chyualrye / dishonoureð his
lord / and yssueth oute of his ordre / And ryght soo as
the gorgette enuyronneth² or goth aboute² the neck of a 5
knyght* by cause it shold be deffendek / fro strokes and
woundes / In lyke wyse maketh obedyence a knyght to be
withynne the commaundements of his souerayne & within
thordre of chyualry / to thende that treason pryde / ne
none other vyce corrupte not the othe that the knyght hath 10
made to his lord & to chyualrye / The mace is gyuen to
the knyght / to sygnefye strength of courage / For lyke
as^a a mace³ or pollax³ is strong ageynst al armes / &
smyteth on al partes Ryght so force or strengthe of
courage deffendeth a knyght fro al vyces / & enforceth 15

^a C. as as.

Loutfut.

Of þe
gorget.

Of þe mas
& of þe
poll ax.

The gorget is giffin to a knyght to signyfy obediens,
for euery knyght þat is not obeissant to his lord no to þe
ordre of cheualry dishonoreth his lord and yssueth out of
his ordre. And ryght so as þe gorget enorneth or gois 5
about þe nek of a knyght becaufs it suld be defendit fro
strokis & woundis, in likwys makis obediens a knyght to
be within þe commandmentis of his soueran & within
thordour of cheualry to thend þat tresoun, prid, no nan
opir vice corrupt not þe oth þat þe knyght has maid to his 10
lord & to cheualry.

The mas is giffin to þe knyght to signyfy strenth of
courage. For as^a a mas or poll ax is strong aganis al
armys & smyteth on al partis, ryghtso fors or strenth of
courage defend a knyght fro al vices & enforcis vertuys &

^a MS. as as.

¹ R. adds—tout ainsy comme cheuallier sans gorgerin nest propre
destre receu a gages. (Not in Lull.)

²⁻² Om.

³⁻³ Om.

Carton.

vertues & good customnes / by the which knyghtes
mayntene thordre of chyualrye in the hye honour whiche
is due & apperteyneth to it / Mysericorde or knyf with a
crosse is gyuen to a knyght / to thende / that yf his other
5 armures faylle hym / that he haue recours to the mysery-
corde or daggar¹ Or yf he be so nyhe his enemy / that he
may not² greue / ne smyte² hym with his spere / or with
his swerde / that thenne he joyne to hym / & surmoüte
hym yf he maye by the force³ or strength³ of his
10 myserycorde or knyf And bicause this armure whiche is
named * myserycorde sheweth to a knyght / that he ouzt
not to trust al in his armes ne in his strength / but he
ouzt so moche affye & trust in god / & to joyne to hym by
ryght good werkes / & by very hope⁴ that he ought to
15 haue in hym / that by the helpe & ayde of god⁴ he
vaynquyssh his enemyes / & them whiche ben contrary
to thordre of chyualry / The shelde is gyuen to the knyght

9. The
dagger:
trust in
God.

[* p. 61 b]

10. The
shield:
the office of
knighthood.

Loutfut.

gud customes, by þe quhich knyghtis manteineth thordour
of cheualry in þe hie honour quhich is due & apperteneth
to it.

Misericord or knyf with a croice is giffin to a knyght to
5 thend þat gif his other armouris faill him þat he haf
recours to þe misericord or dagger. Or gif he be so nyhe
his * enemy þat he may not smyt him with his sper or
with his suerd, þat thenn he joyne to him and surmonte
him, gif he may, by þe fors or strenth of his misericord or
10 knyf. And becaufs þis armour quhiche is named
mysericord sheweth to a knyght þat he aucht not to traist
al in his armys ne in his strenth, bot he ought so moche
affye & traist in God and to joyn to him by richt gud
werkis and be verre hope þat he oucht to haue in him,
15 þat by þe helpe & ayd of God he vencufs his enemyfs
and pem quhiche bene contrary to thordre of cheualry.

Of þe knyf.

[* fol. 99 b]

¹ R. adds—ou il sest tant fie.

²⁻² R. ferir. AJ. greuer ne ferir.

³⁻³ Om.

⁴⁻⁴ R. Om.

Caxton.

11. The
gauntlets:
thankful-
ness,

[*p. 62]

and avoid-
ance of false
oaths and
evil deeds.

to sygnefye the offyce of a knyght / For in lyke wyse as
the knyght putteth his sheld^a bytwene hym and his
enemy / Ryght soo the knyght is the moyen bytwene the
prynce and the peple / And lyke as the stroke falleth vpon
the shelde and saueth the knyght Ryght so the knyght 5
ought to apparaylle hym / & presente his body to fore his
lord¹ / whan he is in peryl hurte or taken / gaūtelots ben
gyuen to a knyght / to thende / that he putte his hondes
therein / for to be sure / & to receyue the strokes / yf it
were so that his other armures manyable faylled to hym / 10
¹ And thus as the knyght with his gaūtelots handleth
more surely the spere or his swerd¹ / And that to the
sygnefyaunce of the gaūtelots he lyfte vp on hyhe his
hond² * Ryght soo ought he to lyfte them vp in thankyng
god of the vyctory that he hath had / ¶ By the gaūtelots 15
is also sygnefye^d / that he ought not to lyfte vp his hond¹ /

^a C. by-wene.

Loutfut.

Of þe
scheld.

The scheild is giffin to þe knyght to signefy þe office of
a knyght / for inlikwys as þe knyght puttis his scheld
betwene him & his enemys, ryght so þe knyght is þe
moyen betwene þe prince & þe peple. And lik as þe
strak fallis apon þe scheld & saiffis þe knyght, ryghtso þe 5
knyght oucht to apparell him and present his body to fore
his lord, quhen he is in perell, hurt, or takin.

Gautelots bene giffin to a knyght to thend þat he put
his handis therin for to be sure and to resuf þe strokes,
gif it war so þat his other armouris mannable fallid to 10
him. And þus as þe knyght with his gautelots handleth
more surly þe sper or his suerd, and þat to þe signifi-
fiance of þe gautelots he lift wp on hiche his hond, ryghtso oucht he
to lift þem up in thanking God of þe victoury þat he has
had. By þe gautelots is also signified þat he oucht noch 15

¹⁻¹ R. Om.

² R. adds—de la victoire.

Custon.

in makynge a fals othe / ne handle none euylle / ne foule
touchynges / ne dishonest with his hondes / The sadyl in
whiche the knyght sytteth whan he rydeth / sygnefyeth
surete of courage / the charge and the grete burthen of
5 chyualry / For lyke as by the sadyl a knyght is sure vpon
his hors / Ryght so surete of courage maketh a knyght to
be in the fronte of the batayll / By the whiche surete
aduenture frende of chyualry aydeth hym / And by surete
ben mesprysed many cowardes / vañtours / & many vayne
10 semblaunces / ¹ whiche make men Cowardys for to seme
hardy / and strong of courage / And by that ben many
men refreyned in suche manere / that they dare not
passe to fore in that place / where noble courage and
stronge oughte to be / and passe aboute the Cours of a
15 valyaunt knyght and hardy ¹

12. The
saddle :
sure
courage,

And by the sadel is sygnefyed the charge * of a knyght /
For the sadel lyke as we haue said / holdeth the knyght
ferme and sure vpon his hors / so that he may not falle

and the
responsibili-
ties of
knighthood.
[* p. 62 b]

Loutfut.

to lift wp his hond in making a fals oith, ne handle non
evil, no foull tuichingis ne dishonest with his handis.

pe sadill in quhiche pe knyght sittis quhen he rideth
signified surete of courage, pe charge & pe gret burdin of
5 cheualry. For lik as by pe sadil a knyght is sur apon his
hors, ryght so suret of courage maketh a knyght * to be in
pe front of pe batell, by pe quhich suret aduentur, frend
of cheualry, aydeth him, and by surete ben mysprisit
mony cowartis, vantouris, & mony vane semblances,
10 quhiche maketh men cowartis for to seme hardy and
strong of courage, and by pat bene mony men refrenyt in
suche maner pat pai dar nocht pas to for in pat place quhar
noble courage & strong oucht to be & passe abon pe
courfs of a valiant knyght and hardy. And by pe sadill
15 is signified pe charge of a knyght, for pe sadill lik as we
haue said holdeth pe knyght ferm & sur apon his hors, so

[* fol. 100]

Carton.

13. The
horse : high
ideals.

14. The
bridle :
restraint.

ne moeue lyghtly / but yf he wyll / And therfore the
sadel / whiche is so grete sygnefyeth the charge of
chyualry / that the knyght ought not in no wyse to
moeue for lyghte thynges / And yf it behoueth hym to
moeue / he ought to haue grete courage / noble & hardy 5
ageynst his enemye for tenhaunce thordre of chyualrye /
To a knyght is gyuen an horse / and also a Coursour for to
sygnefyen noblesse of courage / ¶ And by cause that he be
wel horsed and hye / is by cause he may be sene fro
ferre / And that is the sygnefyauce that he oughte to be 10
made redy to doo al that whiche behoueth to thordre of
chyualrye more / than another man / ¶ To an horse is
gyuen a brydel / & the raynes of the brydel ben gyuen in
the hondes of the knyght by cause that the knyght may
at his wylle holde his hors and refrayne hym / ¶ And 15
thys sygnefyeth that a knyghte oughte to refrayne his
tongue / and holde that he speke no fowle wordes ne
false

Loutfut.

pat he may not fall no mufe lichtly, bot gif he will. And
perfor pe sadill quhiche is so grett signifyd pe charge of
cheualry, pat pe knyght oucht not in no wifs to mufe for
light thinges. And gif he behuffith him to mufe, he
oucht to haf gret curage, noble and hardy, aganest his 5
enemys for t[en]haunce^a thordre of cheualry.

Of þe
hors.

To a knyht is giffin a hors and als a courser for to
signifye noblenes of courage. And bycaufs at he be weil
horssit and heith is bycaufs he may be sene fro fer, and
pat is the signifiace pat he oucht to be maid redy to do 10
all pat quhiche behuffit to thordre of cheualry more pan
ane opir man.

To a hors is giffin a sadil, and pe renzeis of pe bridil
bene giffin in pe handis of pe knyght by caufs pat pe
knyght may at his will hald his hors and refrene him, and 15
pis signyfyeth pat a knyght oucht to refrene his tounge
and hold at he spek no foull wordis ne fals.

^a MS. truhaunce.

Caution.

* And also hit sygnefyeth / that he ought to refrayne his hondes / that he gyue not soo moche that he be suffratous and nedy / ¹ And that he begge ne demaunde nought¹ / Ne he ought not be so hardy / but that in
 5 his hardynesse he haue reason and attemperaunce ¶ And by the reynes is sygnefyed to the knyght / that he oughte to be ladde oueral / where thordre of chyualry wylle lede hym or sende hym / ¶ And whan it shal be tyme of necessite to make largesse / his hondes must
 10 gyue and dispende after that it apperteyneth to his honour / And that he be hardy / & doubte nothyng his enemyes / For doubtaunce affeblyssheth strengthe of courage / ¶ And yf a knyght doo contrary to doo alle these thynges / his horse kepeth better the rule of
 15 chyualry than he doth To his hors is gyuen² in his hede² a testiere to sygnefy that a knyght ought to do nonne armes without reason / For lyke as the hede of

[* p. 63]

15. The reins: willing service, generosity, fearlessness.

16. The testier: reason.

Loutfut.

And also it signyfith pat he ought to refrene his handis pat he gyue not so moche pat he be suffratous & nedy, & pat he beg* ne demaund nocht, as he ought not be so
 hardy bot pat in his hardynes he haf resoun and
 5 attemperans. And by pe renzeis is signifid to pe knyght pat he ought to be laid ouerall quhar thordre of cheualry wil led him or send him. And quhen it salbe tyme of necessite to^a mak larges, his handis must gif & dispend eftir pat it apperteneth to his honour. And pat he be
 10 hardy and doubte no thing his enemys, for doubtaunce affeblysshith strenth of courage. And gif a knyght do contrary to doo al this thingis, his hors kepeth better pe reull of cheualry pan he doith.

[* fol. 100b]

To his hors is giffin in his hed a testier to signify pat
 15 a knyght ought to do nan armes without resoun; for lik

Of pe testier in pe hors hed

^a MS. to to.

Caxton.

[^op. 63 b.]17. The
horse's
armour:
temporal
goods.

an hors goth to fore the knyght / Ryght soo ought Reason
 goo to fore all that a knyght doth / For al werkes with-
 out reason ben vyces in hym / And al in lyke wyse as
 the testier kepeth & deffendeth * the hede of the hors /
 Ryght so reason kepeth and deffendeth a knyght fro
 blame / & fro shame / Garnements of the hors¹ ben for
 to kepe and deffende the hors / And they¹ sygnefye that
 a knyght ought to kepe his goodes and his rychesses / by
 cause that they myght suffyse to hym for thoffice of
 chyualry to mayntene / For lyke as the hors is deffended
 of the strokes or hurtes by hys garnements / And with-
 oute them he is in peryl of deth / In lyke wyse a knyght
 withoute goodes temporal / may not mayntene thonour
 of chyualrye / ne may not be deffended fro euylle
 peryls² / For pouerte causeth a man to thynke barates /
 falsetees & traysons / and to this purpos saith the

Loutfut.

as pe hed of ane hors gois tofor pe knyght, rychtso aucht
 reson go tofor al pat a knyght dois. For all werkis
 without resoun ben vices in him. And al inlikwys as
 pe testier kepeth & defendeth pe heid of pe hors, richt
 so resoun kepeth and defendeth a knyght fro blame &
 fro shame.

Of pe
garnementis
of pe hors.

Garnementis of pe hors bene for to keip and defend
 pe hors, & pai signifey pat a knyght oucht to keip his gudis
 and his riches by caus pat pai mycht suffice to him
 for thoffice of cheualry to manteine. For lik as pe hors
 is defendit of pe strakis & pe hurtis by his garnementis,
 and without pain he is in perell of detht, inlikwys a
 knyght without gudis temporall may not mantein thonour
 of cheualry, no may not be defended fro euil perellis.
 For pouerte causeth a man to think baretes, falsetis, &
 tresons. And to pis purpofs sais pe scriptur **Propter**

¹—¹ A. Omi. After "hors" R. adds—de coups et de playes.² R. pensers. A. pensees.

Caxton.

scripture / Propter inopiam multi delinquerunt ¹ For
 pouerte many haue maade falshede ¹ / A Cote is gyuen
 to a knyght / in sygnefyaūce of the grete trauaylles
 that a knyght must suffre for to honoure chyualrye /
 5 For lyke as the Cote is aboue the other garnementes of
 yron / and is in the rayne ² and receyueth the strokes to
 fore the hawberke and the other armures / Ryght so is
 a knyzt chosen to susteyne gretter trauail*les than another
 man / And alle ³ the men that ben vnder the noblesse
 10 of hym / and in his garde ³ ought whan they haue nede
 to haue recours to hym / And the knyght ought to
 defende them after his power / and the knyghtes ought
 rather to be taken / hurte or dede / than the men that
 ben in their garde / ⁴Thenne as it is so ryght grete &
 15 large chyualrye ⁴ / therfore ben the prynces & barons in
 so grete trauaylles for to kepe theyr londes and their

18. The
 coat: the
 knight as a
 protector.

[* p. 64]

Loutfut.

inopiam multi delinquerunt. For pouerte mony haue
 maid falssed.

A cote is giffin to a knyght in signifiante of þe gret
 trauaillis **pat** a knyght muste * ssuffir for to honour
 5 cheualry. For lik as þe cote is aboue þe othir garnamētis
 of yrn, & is in þe rayn, and resailis þe strakis
 to fore þe hauberk & þe other armes, richt so is a knyght
 choissin to sustene grettar trauaillis þan ane opir man.
 And al þe men **pat** bene vnder þe noblenefs of him &
 10 in his gard oucht, quhen þai haue neid, to haf recours
 to him. And the knyght oucht to defend þaim eftir his
 power. And þe knyghtis aucht raither to be takin, hurt or
 ded þan þe men **pat** bene in þe gard. Thenne as it is so
 richt gret & large cheualry, þerfor bene þe prince & barons
 15 in so gret trauaillis for to keip þe landis & þe peple.

Of þe cote
 of armes.
 [* fol. 101]

¹⁻¹ *AJ. Om. R.* Cest a dire que par pourete plusieurs ont delinquie.

² *MSS.* add—et au vent.

³⁻³ *R.* les subiectz.

⁴⁻⁴ *Donques* comme il soit ainsy, tresgrande est la charge de cheualerie.

Carton.

19. The coat
of arms :
means of
awarding
praise or
blame.

peple / A ¹ token or esseygnal of armes ¹ is gyuen to a
knyghte in his shelde ² and in his cote ² / by cause that
he be knowen in the bataylle / And that he be allowed ³
yf he be hardy / & yf he do grete & fayr feates of armes /
and yf he be coward faulty / or recreaunt / the enseynal 5
is gyuen to hym by cause that he be blamed / vytupered
and repreuyd / Thesseygnal is also gyuen to a knyght /
to thende that he be knowen yf he be a frende or enemy
of chyualrye / wherfor euery knyght ought to honoure
his esseygnal / þ^t he be kepte fro blame / the whiche 10
blame casteth the knyght & putteth hym out of chyualry ⁴ /
The baner is gyuen to a kyng a prince baron & to a
kniȝt * Banerere / whiche hath vnder hym many knyghtes /
to sygnefye that a knyght ouȝt to mayntene thonour of
his lord / and of his londe. For a knyght is loued / 15

20. The
banner :
special
mark of
honour.
[^a p. 64 b]

Loutfut.

Quhy þe
knyȝt weris
a takin in
his scheild
or in his
cote þe
quhilk is
his armes.

Ane token or a signell of armes is giffin to a knyȝt
in his scheild and in his cote, becaufs þat he be knawin
in þe batell, and þat he be allowed gif he be hardy, and
gif he do gret & fair feates of armes. And gif he be
coward feaulte or recreand, þe ensignall is giffin to him 5
bycaufs þat he be blamed, vitupered & repreuyd. The
ensignall is also giffin to a knyȝt to theud þat he be
knawin gif he be a frend or enemy of cheualry. Quhar-
for euery knyȝt ouȝt to honour his assignall þat he be
kept fro blame, þe quhiche blame casteth þe knyȝt 10
& putteth him out of cheualry.

Of þe baner.

The banner is giffin to a king, prince, baroun, and to
a knyȝt Bannerer, quhic[h]e ^a hath vnder him mony
knyȝtis to signify þat a knyȝt ouȝt to mantene
thonour of his lord & of his lond. For a knyȝt is 15

^a MS. quhice.

¹⁻¹ Seignal.

²⁻² R. Om.

³ loue.

⁴ *AJ.* add—est le dit signal donne. *R.* omits 10-11—"the whiche . . . chyualry."

Caxton.

preysed and honoured of the folke¹ of worship¹ of the
 Royamme of his lord / And yf they doo dishonour of
 the londe wherein they be / and of their lord / Suche
 knyghtes ben more blamed and shamed than other men /
 5 For lyke as for honoure they ought to be more preysed /
 by cause that in them ought to be the honoure of a
 prynce² and of the knyght² and of the lord / In lyke
 wyse in their dishonour / they ought to be more blamed /
 And bycause that for their latchesse falschede or treason
 10 ben kynges and prynces more disheryted³ than by any
 other men³

¶ Of the custommes that apperteynen to a knyght

THE⁴ noblesse of courage hath chosen a knyght to be
 T aboue al other men that ben vnder hym in seruytude /
 15 theñe noblesse of custōmes / and good nourysshements
 apperteynen to a knyght / For * noblesse of courage may

[* p. 65]

Loutfut.

luffed, preysed, and honorit of pe folk of worschip of
 pe realm of his lord. And gif pai do dishonour of pe
 land quhare in pai be & of ther lord, suche knyghtis ben
 more blamyt & shamyt pan opir men. For lik as fore
 5 * Honore pai oucht to be more prased by caufs pat in [* fol. 101 b]
 pain oucht to be the honour of a prince & of pe knyght
 & of pe lord, inlikwifs in per dishonour pai oucht to
 be more blamed. And be caufs pat for per latchesse,
 falssed, or tressoun ben kinges & princis more disheritid
 10 than by any othir men.

Off the customis pat apperteneth to a knyght.

THE nobles of courage has choissen a knyght to be
 T aboue al opir men pat bene wndyr him in seruitud.
 Thenn nobles of customes & gud nowryssementis apper-
 15 tenen to a knyght. For nobles of courage may not

¹—¹ R. en la faueur. AJ. en lonnour.

²—² Om.

³—³ que nulz autres hommes.

⁴ A. Le. RJ. Vérart. Se. Lull. Si.

Caxton.

The seven
virtues.a. Theologi-
cal.

1. Faith.

not moũte in the hyhe honour of chyualry without
election of vertues and good custommes / Thenne as it
is so / ¹ it behoueth of force to a knyȝte that he be
replenysshed of ¹ good custōmes and of good enseynge-
ments / Euery knyght ought to knowe the seuen vertues / 5
whiche ben begynnynge and rote of al good custommes /
and ben the way and path of the celestyal glory per-
durable / of whiche seuen vertues the thre ben ² theologale
or deuyne ² / And the other four ben cardynal / The
theological ben fayth / hope / & charyte / The cardynal 10
ben justyce / prudence / strengthe & attemperaunce / A
knyght withoute fayth may not haue ³ in hym ³ good
custommes / For by fayth / a man seeth spyrytuelly god /
and his werkes / and byleueth thynges Inuysyble / ⁴ And
by feyth hath a man hope / charyte / and loyaulte / and 15
is seruauant of veryte and trouthe ⁴ / And by deffaulte of

Loutfut.

Of vii
vertues.þe thre
theological
vertuys.The iiii
cardinal
vertuis.

maunte in þe his honour of cheualry without electioun of
vertues and gud customis. Thenn as it is so, it behoueth
of fors to a knyght þat he be replenysshed of gud customes
& of gud ensengementis. Euery knyght oucht to know
the seuen vertues, quhiche ben begynnyn & rute of al gud 5
customes and bene þe way & path of celestiall glore per-
durable, of quhiche vii vertues thre bene theologale or
dyuyn and þe opir four bene cardinall. The theologal
ben faith, hope, & cherite. The cardynall bene justice,
prudens, strenth, & attemperaunce. 10

A knyght without faith may not haf in him gud customes,
for by faith a man seyth *spiritually* God and his werkis
and byleueth thingis *inuysible*. And by feith hath a
man hope, cherite, & loyaulte and is *servant* of verite &
treuth. And by deffaulte of faith a man byleueth not 15

¹⁻¹ il conuient que a cheuallier appartienngent.²⁻² theologiques.³⁻³ Om.⁴⁻⁴ *RJ.* Et par foy len a esperance charite loyaulte et est on
seruiteur de verite. *A.* Et par foy a homs esperance, par charite
et loyaulte est homs seruiteur de verite.

Caxton.

feyth a man byleueth not god to be a man / his werkes
and the thynges / whiche ben Inuysyble / the whiche a
man without faith may not vnderstād ne knowe / ¹ knyghtes
ben acustōmed by the feyth * that they haue gone in to [[•] p. 65 b]
5 the londe¹ ouer the see in pylgremage / And there proue
theyr strength and chyualry ageynst the enemyes of the
Crosse / and ben martirs yf they deye / For they fyghte
for tenhaunce the holy feyth catholyk / And also by
feyth ben the clerkes deffended by the knyghtes fro
10 wycked men / ² whiche by deffaulte² mespryse / Robbe
and disheryte them³ as moche as they may³ / Hope is a
vertue whiche⁴ moche strongly⁴ apperteyneth to thoffyce
of a knyght. For by hope that he hath in god / he
entendeth to haue vycory of the batayll / By reason of
15 thaffyaunce whiche he hath gretter in god than in his

2. Hope,
or trust in
God.

Loutfut.

God to be a man, his werkis * and pe thingis quhiche [[•] fol. 102]
ben inuysible; pe quhiche a man without faitht may not
wnderstand no know. Knyghtes ben acustomed by pe
faith pat pai haf gone in to pe lond our pe see in
5 pilgrimage, and pair prwe per strenth & cheualry aganys
pe enemys of pe croice and be martiris gif pai dee. For
pai feicht for tenhaunce pe holy faith catholik. And also
by faith bene pe clerkis defendeth by pe knyghtes f[ro]^a
wikit men quhich by pe falt mysprifs [r]ob[b]e^b & disherit
10 pem as moche as pai may.

Hoip is a vertu quhiche moche strongly appertenyth to
thoffice of a knyght, for by hoip pat he has in God he
entendeth to haf victoury of pe batell; by reson of
thaffyanne quhiche he hath gretter in God pan in his

^a for.

^b MS. noble.

1—1 Cheualliers bien acoustumez par la foi quilz ont en eulz
vont en la terre.

2—2 R. qui par de foy. AJ. qui par deffault de foy.

3—3 R. Om. 4—4 R. Om.

Caxton.

body ne in his armes / cometh to the aboue of his
 enemyes / ¶ ¹ By hope is enforced the courage of the
 knyȝt / and vaynquysshlyth the latchednesse and
 cowardyse ¹ / Hope maketh knyghtes ² to susteyne and
 suffre ² trauailles / and for to be auenturous in peryls / 5
 in whiche they putte them self ofte / ¶ Also hope maketh
 them to suffre hongre and thurst in castels ³ cytees &
 fortresses / ⁴ To the garde of whom ⁴ they ben assygned /
 & deffende them & the castel valyauntly / as moche as
 they may * For yf ther were none hope a knyght myght 10
 not vse his offyce / ¶ ⁵ And also hope is pryncipal Instru-
 ment to vse thoffyce of a knyght / lyke as the honde of
 a carpenter is pryncipal Instrument ^a of carpentrye ⁵ / A
 knyght withoute charyte maye not be without cruelte and

[*p. 66]

3. Charity.

^a C. Instrument.*Loutfut.*

body, ne in his armys, co[m]eth ^a to þe aboue of his
 enemys. By hoip is enforsed þe courage of þe knyght &
 vengussed þe lat[c]hednesse and cowardifs. Hoip maketh
 knyghtis to sustene & suffir trauaillis & for to be
 auentourous in perellis in quiche þai put þaim self oft. 5
 Also hoip maketh þem to suffre hongre & thruste in
 castellis, citeis & ffortresses, to þe gard of quhom þai bene
 asseigned, & defend þem & þe castel valiauntly als moche
 as þai may. For gif þer were none hope a knyght myght
 not vse his office. And also hoip is principall instrument 10
 to vse thoffice of a knyght, lik as þe hand of a carpentar
 is principal instrument of carpentry.

A knyght without cherite may not be without cruelte

^a MS. coueth.

¹⁻¹ A. Par esperance est enforcie le courage de cheualier, et vainque laschete et couardie. J. has "vaincue" for "vainque."
 R. Par esperance est mise force au courage de cheualier, et laschete en est boutee hors.

²⁻² soutenir.³ R. Om.⁴⁻⁴ R. es quelles. AJ. ou.⁵⁻⁵ A. Et aussi esperance est principal instrument de charpenterie.

Caxton.

euyll wyll / And cruelte and euyll wyll accorde not to
 the offyce of chyualrye / by cause that charyte behoueth
 to be in a knyght / for yf a knyght haue not charyte in
 god / and in his ney3bour / how or in what wyse shold
 5 he loue god / And yf he had not pyte on poure men /
 not myghty and dyseased / how shold he haue mercy on
 the men taken / and vaynquysshed that demaunde mercy /
 as not of power to escape / and maye not fynde the
 fynauce that is of them demaunded for theyr delyuer-
 10 aunce / And yf in a knyght were not charyte / how
 my3t he be in thordre of chyualry / Charite is a vertu
 aboue other vertues ¹for she departeth euery vyce ¹ /
 Charite is a loue of the which euery kny3t ou3t to haue
 as moche as nede is to mayntene his offyce / ²& charite
 15 also maketh a man to bere lyztly þ^e peisāt burthēs of
 chyualry ² / for * al in lyke wyse as an hors withoute feete

[* p. 66 b]

Loutfut.

& evil will, and cruelte and evil will accordeth not to
 thoffice of cheualry, by caufs þat charite behuffeth to be
 in a knyght. For gif a knyght haff not charite in God
 & in his nychtþur, how or in quhat wifs suld he luf God?
 5 And gif he had * not pite in poure men, not mychti &
 discesid, how suld he haue mercy on þe men taken and
 vecussid, þat demand mercy as not of power to eschaip,
 & may not fynd þe fynauce þat is of þaim demandit
 for þer delyuerans? And gif in a knyt wer not cherite,
 10 how mycht he be in thordre of cheualry? Cherite is a
 vertu aboue opir vertues, for she departith euery vice.
 Cherite is a loue of þe quhiche euery knyght oucht for to
 haf als moche as neid is to manteyn his office and cherite
 also maketh a man to bere lichtly þe pesant burthens of
 15 cheualry. For al inlikwifs as an hors without feit may

[* fol. 102 b]

¹⁻¹ R. Om. AJ. et depart un vice dautre vice.
²⁻² R. Om.

Caxton.

b. Cardinal.
4. Justice.

may not bere the knyght / Ryght soo a knyght maye not
without charyte susteyne the grete charge and burthen ¹
of his ordre / ¶ And by charyte maye chyualrye ben
honoured and enhaunced ¹ / yf a man withoute body
were a man / Thenne were a man a thyng Inuysyble / 5
And yf he were Inuysyble / he were not a man / ne
that whiche he is / And al in lyke wyse / yf a man
without Iustyce were a knyght hym behoueth by force
that Iustyce were not in that / in which she is or that
chyualry were a thyng dyuerse fro the same chyualrye / 10
whiche now is / ¶ And how be it that a knyght haue the
begynnyng of iustyce ^a and be Iniuryous / and weneth
to be in thordre of chyualrye / that apperteyneth not /
For chyualry and Iustyce accorden so strongly / that
withoute Iustyce Chyualrye may not be / For an Iniuryous 15

^a C. jus-styce.

Loutfut.

not beir þe knyght, ryghtso a knyght may not without
cherite sustene þe gret charge & burdin off his ordre.
And by cherite may cheualry ben honored and enhaunced.

Gif a man without body wer a man, þen war a man a
thing inuysible And gif he war inuisible, he wer not a 5
man ne þat quhiche he is. And al in likwys gif a man
without iustice wer a knyght, him behuffit by fors þat
iustice wer not in þat in quhiche she is, or þat cheualry
wer a thing diuerfs fro þe sam cheualry quhiche now is.
And how be it þat a knyght haf þe begynnyng of iustice, 10
& be iniuryous, & weneth to be in thordre of cheualry,
þat apperteneth not; for cheualry & iustice accorden so
strongly þat without iustice cheualry may not be. Ane

¹⁻¹ R. quil convient porter a celui qui honnourablement veult
maintenir lordre de cheualerie. Car charite fait le pesant fais
legier. *Ad.* que soustient le noble courage du cheualier pour
charite, et pour honnourer et essaucier cheualerie. After "en-
haunced" R. alone has—Iustice est vertu moult appartenante au
cheuallier.

Caxton.

knyght is enemy of Iustyce / and dyffeateth and casteth
hym self out of chyualrye / and of his noble ordre / and
renyeth hit and despyseth /

The vertu of prudence is she by the whiche * a man hath
5 knowledge of good and euyl And by the whiche a man
hath grace to be frend of the good and enemy to the euyl
For prudence is a science / by the whiche a man hath
knowleche of the thynges ¹that ben to come by the
thynges presente ¹ / And prudence is whan by ²ony
10 cautels & maystryes ² a man can eschewe the dommages
bodyly and ghostly / And as the knyghtes ben ordeyned
for to put away and destroye the euyl / For no men put
theyr bodyes in so many peryls as done the knyghtes /
what thyng is thene to a knyght more necessary than the
15 vertue of prudence / To the custommaunce of a knyght is
apperteynaunt to arme hym and to fyghte / But that
accordeth not so moche to the offyce of a knyght / as doth

5. Prudence,
or the virtue
of profiting
by experi-
ence.

[* p. 67]

Loutfut.

iniuriours knyght is enemy of justice, and deffeated &
casteth^a him self out of cheualry and of his noble ordre
and renyeth it & dispisyt.

Pe vertu of prudens is she by pe quhiche a man has
5 knowlege of gud & euill, and by pe quhich a man has
grace to be frend of pe gud & enemy to pe evil. For
prudens is a sciens by pe quhich a man has knowlege of
pe thingis pat ben to cum * by pe thingis present. And
prudens is quhen by ony cautels and mastrice a man can
10 eschew pe dommages bodely & goostly. And as pe
knychtis bene ordaned for to put away & distroy the evil,—
ffor no men put ther bodeis in so mony perellis as doith pe
knychtis,—quhat thing is pen to a knyght more necessary
pan pe vertu of prudens? To pe custommaunce of a
15 knyght is appertenans to arme him & to ficht. Bot pat
accordith not so moche to pe office of a knyght as doith

[* fol. 103]

^a MS. chasteth.

¹⁻¹ A. presentes.

¹⁻² AJ. aucunes cautelles et maistries. R. honneste subillite.

Custom.

vsauce of reason and of entendement / and ordeyned wylle / For many bataylles ben many tymes vaynquysshed more by maystrye / by wytte and Industrye / than by multytude of people of hors ne of good armours /

The
example of
Judas
Maccabaeus.
[° p. 67 b]

¶ And to thys purpos sayd the valyaūt knyght Iudas 5
machabeus to his people / whan he sawe his enemyes / whiche were * in nombre syxe tymes more than were ¹ the hys ¹ / and cam for to fyghte / O my brethren sayd he / he ye nothyng in doubte / but ^a that god wyl helpe vs at this tyme / For I saye yow wel / that vycторыe lyeth not 10
in grete multitude / For therin is grete confusyon / And by the ² wytte and good prudence ² of the sayd Iudas machabeus was the batayl of his enemyes vaynquysshed / and he obteyned glorious vycторыe Thenne as it is soo / yf thou knyght wilt acustomme thy sone to thoffyce of a 15
knyzt for to mayntene chyualrye & his noble ordre make

^a C. but but.

Loutfut.

vsauce of resoun, and of entendement & ordeyned wille. For mony batellis bene mony tymis vecussed more by mastrye, by witte & industrye, þan by multitud of pepile, of hors, ne of gud armours. And to þis purpofs said þe valiaunt knyght Judas Machabeus to his peple, quhen he 5
saw his enemys quhiche wer in nombre sax tymis more then wer the [h]is, and com for to ficht, "O my bredir," said he, "Be 3e no thing in dout bot þat God will help ws at þis tym. For I say 3ow wele ^a þat [vyc]tory ^b lieth not in gret multitud, for þerin is gret confusioun." And by 10
þe wite & gud prudens of þe said Judas Machabeus wes þe batell of his enemys vecussed and he opetnyt glorioufs victory. Than as it is so, gif þow, [k]nycht, ^c wilt acustom ^d þi son to thoffice of a knyght for to mantein cheualry & his noble ordour, mak him first to acustome 15

^a MS. 3ow þat wele.

^b MS. lechory.

^c MS. nyhchit.

^d MS. acustomid.

Caxton.

- hym fyrst to acustomme and^e vse reason and^e entende-
ment / And^e make hym that with all his power he be
frend^e to good^e / and^e enemye to euyl / For by suche vsages
prudence & chyualrye assemble them to honoure thordre
5 of chyualrye / Strength is a vertu whiche remayneth and
dwelleth in noble courage ageynst the seven dedely synnes /
by whiche men goo to helle to suffre and^e susteyne
greuous torments without ende / ¹ the whiche synnes ben
Gloutonnye / lecherye / Auaryce / Pryde / slouth /
10 Enuye / and^e yre ¹ / Thenne a knyght that foloweth * suche
way / goth not in the hows of noblesse of herte / ne
maketh not there his abydyng ne his habitacion / Glou-
tonye engendreth feblesse of body / by ouer outragious
drynkyng and^e etyng / For in ouermuche drynkyng
15 gloutonye chargeth alle the body with metes / and^e
engendreth slouth and lachenes of body which greueth
the soule / Thenne all the vyces ben contrary to chyualry /

6. Strength
or steadfast-
ness, a
bulwark
against the
seven
deadly
sins—

[^o p. 68]

a. Gluttony.

Loutfut.

- & to vse resoun & entendment, & mak him *pat with* al
his power he be frend to gud & enemy to evil. For by
suche vsages prudens & cheualry assemble pain to honour
thordre of cheualry.
- 5 Strenth is a vertu qu[i]che ^a remanyt & duellid in noble
courage aganist pe * vii dedly synnys, by quiche men gois
to Hell to suffre & sustene gronous tormentis *without* end,
the quich synnys bene glotony, lechory, auerice, prid,
slouth, envy and yre. Thenn a knyght *pat* followeth
10 suche way goth not in pe houfs of noblenefs of hert, no
maketh not *per* his abiding no his habitacioun.
- Glotony engendreth feblenes of body by ouer outtra-
gioufs drinking & eting. For in our moch drinking
glotony chargeth al pe body *with* metes and engendreth
15 slouth & lachenes of body, quiche greueth pe soule.
Thenn al pe vices ben contrary to cheualry. *Perfor* pe

He forbedis
drunkynnes
or glotony
to a knyght.

^a MS. quche.

1-1 R. Om.

Caxton.

therfor the strong courage of a noble knyght fyghteth
with the ayde of Abstynence / prudence / and attemper-
aūce that he hath ageynst gloutonye / lecherye and
b. Impurity chastyte fyghten that one ageynste that other / And the
armes with whiche lecherye warreth Chastyte / ben 5
yongthe / beaulte / moche drynke / & moche mete /
queynt vestures and galaunt¹ Falshede / Treason
Iniurye / and despysing of God / and of his glorye /

¶ And² for to doubte² the paynes³ of helle whiche
ben Infynyte³ / and the other thynges semblable to that / 10
Chastyte and strengthe warren and fyghten ageynste
lecherye / and surmounte hit / by remembraunce of his
[*p. 68b] commaundementys / * and for to remembre and wel to
vnderstonde the goodes and glory that god gyueth to

Loutfut.

strong curage of a noble knyght feichteth with pe ayd of
abstinence, prudens and attemporance, pat he hath,
aganyst glotony.

Lechery and chastite fechten pat one aganest pat other.
And pe armes with quhiche lechery warreth castite ben 5
youtht, beaulte, moche drynk & moche mete, queynt
vestures & galanty, falsset, tresoun, iniure, & despising of
God & his glore; and for to doubte pe panis of Hel
quhiche bene infynyte, and pe opir thingis semblable to
pat. Chastite & strenth warran & ficht[en]^a aganist 10
lechery, and surmounte it by remembrance of his command-
mentis, & for to remembre & wele to wnderstand the
gudis & glore pat God giffith to pem pat loue, serf &

^a MS. fighting.

¹⁻¹ *R.* jolies vestures. *AJ.* cointes vestures et pollies.

²⁻² *R.* pou (= peu) doubter. *AJ.* petit doubter.

³⁻³ *A.* Om.

⁴⁻⁴ Chastete guerroye et sourmonte luxure par remembrer dieu
et ses commandemens, et par bien entendre les biens et la gloire
que dieu donne a ceulx qui layment seruent et honnourent, et la
paine qui est appareillie a ceulx qui fait le contraire, et par bien
amer dieu pour ce quil est digne destre ame serui et honnore

Caxton.

them / that loue serue and honoure hym / And the euyl
and the payne / whiche is apparaylled to them that
despyse & byleue not in hym / And by wel to loue god /
he is worthy to be loued / serued and honoured ¹ / And
5 by that chastyte warryth and vaynquyssheth lecherye
with noblesse of courage / ¹ who that wyll not submytte ¹
to euylle ne to foule thoughtes / ne wyll not be aualed /
ne defouled from his hye honour / And as a knyght is
named chyualer / by cause that he oweth to fyghte &
10 warre ageynst vyces / and ought to vaynquysshe and
surmounte by force of noble & good courage / ² yf he be
not suche one that he be without strength / ne hath not
the herte of a knyght / nor hath not the armes with
whiche he ought to fyghte / thenne is he none ² / Auaryce c. Avarice.
15 is a vyce / whiche maketh noble courage to descende and
aualle / and to be submysed to vyle and fowle thynges /
Thenne by the deffaulte of strengthe / and of good

Loufyt.

honour him, and þe evil & þe payn quhich is apparaylled
to þem þat dispys & beleve nocht in him. And by well
to loue God he is worthi to be luffit, seruit & honorit. And
by þat chastite warryth & vengust lechery with noblenes
5 of courage, quho þat will not submytt to evil ne to foull
thingis, ne will not be avilet ne defouled fro his he
honour. And as a knyght is named cheual[er]^a by caufs
þat he oucht to ficht & were aganist vices, and * oucht to [* fol. 104
vengust & surmounte by fors of noble and gud curage,
10 gif he be not suche on þat he be without strenth, ne haf
not þe hert of a knyght, nor haue not þe armes with
quhiche he oucht to fecht, þen is he non.

Auerice is a vice quhiche maketh noble courage to
discend & avail & to be submysid to vile & foull
15 thingis. Then by þe diffalte of strenth and of gud

^a MS. cheualry.

¹⁻¹ qui ne se veult soubmettre.

²⁻² sil est tel quil soit sans force et ne aye courage et cuer de noble cheualier, il na pas les armes dont il se doit combattre.

Caxton.

[* p. 69]

courage / whiche deffende them not ageynst auaryce ben
 many submyse~~d~~ and * vaynquysshed / And the courage of
 a knyzt also that wyll be strong and~~e~~ noble is vayn-
 quysshed~~e~~ / And~~e~~ by that ben the knyghtes couetous &
 auarycious / And by theyr couetyses done many wronges &
 wyckednesse / ¹ and~~e~~ ben serf & bonde to the goodes /
 that god hath gyuen to whome they ben abandonned and
 submytted¹ / Strength hath suche a customme / that no
 tyme he aydeth his enemy / ne neuer shall helpe a man /
 yf he demaunde hym not secours and~~e~~ ayde / For so moche
 is noble and~~e~~ hyhe a thyng strengthe of courage in hym
 self / And~~e~~ soo moche grete honour is due to it / that at
 nede of trauayls & peryls it ought to be called / And~~e~~
 ayde ought to be demaunded~~e~~ of it / Thenne whan the
 knyght is by auaryce tempted~~e~~ to encline his courage
 therto / whiche is moder and~~e~~ rote of all euyls & of treson /
 the~~n~~e ougt he to haue his recours & renne to strength /

Loutfut.

courage quhich defend pem not aganist auerice ben mony
 submysed & vencust, and pe courage of a knycht also pat
 will be strong & noble i[s] vecuss[ed],^a and by pat bene
 pe knychtis couatoufs & auericious, and by per couatices
 don mony wrangis and wikitnes, & bene serf & bond to
 pe gudis pat God has giffin, to quhom pai ben aboundit
 and submyttit. Strenth has suche a custom pat no tym he
 aydeth his enemy ne neuer sal help a man gif he demand
 him not secours and ayd for so moche is noble & hie
 thing strenth of courage in him self, and so moche gret
 honour is due to it, pat [at] neid of trauaillis & perellis
 it oucht to be callit, & aid oucht to be demandit of it.
 Pen quhen pe knycht is by auerice tempted to enclyn his
 courage perto, quhiche is moder & rute of al evillis & of
 tresoun, pan oucht he to haf his recours & ryn to treuth

^a MS. in vecussing.

¹⁻¹ et sont serfs et subgiez et chetifs des biens que dieu leur
 auoit abandonnez et soubmis.

Caxton.

in the which he shal neuer fynde cowardyse / ne latched-
 nesse / ne feblenesse / ne deffaulte of socours ne of ayde
 For with strength a noble hert may vaynquysshe al vyces /
 Thenne thou knyght couetous / wherfor hast thou not
 5 strong cou^{*}rage and noble / lyke as was the noble courage
 of the puyssaunt kyng Alysander / whiche in desprysyng
 auarice & couetyse had alwey the handes stratched forthe
 for to gyue vnto his knyghtes / So moche that by
 the renomme of his largesse / they that were souldy-
 10 ours with the kyng auaryciours whiche made warre
 ageynst hym / tourned^a and came toward the seyde
 Alexander / and confused his enemy coueytous whiche to
 fore was theyr mayster / And therefore thou oughtest for
 to thynke / to the ende / that thou he not submytted to
 15 vylaynous werkes and to foule thoughtes by auaryce /
 the whiche accordeth not / ne apperteyneth not to

[* p. 69 b].

A story of
 Alexander
 the Great.

^a C. tourned.

Loutfut.

in þe quhiche he sal neuer fynd cowardis, ne lachednefs,
 ne feblenefs, ne diffalte of socours ne of ayd, for with
 strent^h a noble hert may vengust al viciis. Þen, þow
 knyght covatous, quharfor hast þow not strong courage
 5 & noble lik as wes þe noble courage of þe puyssaunt
 king Alexander, quhiche in dispysing ^{*}auerice
 and covatice had alwey þe [h]andis^a straucht furth
 on to gyue his knyghtis, so moche þat be þe renoun
 of his largesse þai þat war soldeours with þe king
 10 auaricioufs, quhiche maid warre aganest him, turnyd and
 com to toward the seyde Alexander & confused his enemy
 couatoufs quhiche tofore wes þer maistre. And þerfor
 þow auchtest for to think to þe end that thou be not
 submyttid to vilanous werkis and to foul thingis by
 15 aueriche, the quhiche accordeth not ne apperteneth not

[*fol. 104 b]

^a MS. landis.

Caxton.

chyualry / For yf she apperteyned to hit / who shold
 denye thenne / that ¹lechery were not apperteynynge to
 Sloth. a knyght¹ Slouth is a vyce by the whiche a man is
 louer of ²wyckednesse / and of euylle ² / and to hate
 goodnesse / And by this vyce may be knowen and sene in 5
 men sygnes of dampnacō³ better than by any other
 vyce / And by the contrarye of strengthe⁴ may be better
 knowen in a man the signe of sauacion than by any other
 vertue / * And therefore who that wyl ouercome & surmounte
 accydye. hym behoueth / that in his herte he haue 10
 strengthe / by the whiche he vaynquysse the nature of
 the body / whiche by the synne of Adam is enclyned &
 apparayled to doo euyl / ¶ A man that hath accydye or
 slouth hath sorowe and angre / the whyle that he
 knoweth that another man doth wel / And whan a man 15
 dothe harme to hym self / he that hath accydye or
 slouth^a is heuy and sorowful of that / that he hath not

[* p. 70]

^a C. slonthe.*Loutfut.*

to cheualry. For gif he appertened to it, quho suld deny
 then pat lechery war not appertenen to a knyght?

Slouth is a vice by pe quhiche a man is louer of
 wikitnes & of evil and to hate gudnes, and by pis vice
 may be knawin & sene in men sygnes of dampnacion 5
 bettir pan be any othir vice. And be pe contrary of
 strent^h may be better knawin in a man pe signe of
 saluacion pan by any opir vertu. And perfor quho pat
 wil oureum & surmount accidye him behuffeth pat in his
 hert he haf strent^h by pe quhiche he veneufs pe natur of pe 10
 body, quhiche by pe syn of Adam is enclynid & apparaillid
 to do euill. A man pat has accidie or slouth has sorow
 & angir pe quhile pat he knoweth pat ane opir man dois
 weil. And quhen a man doith harm to him self, he pat
 has accidie & slouth is hevy & sorofull of pat, pat he hath 15

¹⁻² R. ung paillart luxurieux ne fust cheuallier. A.J. lusurier
 ne fust cheuallier.

²⁻³ mal.

³ R. saluation.

⁴ accide.

Caxton.

1 more and¹ gretter 1 / And¹ therfore suche a man hath
sorrow both of good¹ and¹ of euylle of other men / For yre
and dysplaysyre gyuen passion & payn to the body and¹
to the soule / Therfor thou knyght which wylt vayn-
5 quysse and surmounte that same vyce oughtest to praye
strengthe / that she wylle enforce thy courage ageynst
accyde / in remembryng / that yf god do good to ony
mā / therfor foloweth it not þ^t he ouȝt also wel to do to
the / for he gyueth not to hym al þ^t he hath / ne that he
10 may gyue / ne in that so gyuynge he taketh away nothing
fro the / & therfor oure god hath gyuen to vs an ensāple
in the gospel * of them that laboureð in the vyneyer² /
whan he repreuyð them that hadde wrought² fro the
mornyng vnto the euen of that they murmured / by
15 cause that the lord of the vyneyer² gaf as moche³ sallary
and¹ wages³ to them that were come at euensong tyme /
as to them that had¹ laboureð alle the daye / and¹ sayð to

The parable
of the
vineyard.
[^a p. 70 b]

Loutfut.

not more & gretter. And þerfor suche a man hath sorrow
both of gud & of evil of opir men. For yre & displaysere
giffis passioun & pane to þe body & to þe soul. And
þerfor, þow knyght, quiche wilt vengeus & surmounte
5 þat sam vice, ouhtest to pray strent þat he wil enforce
* thi courage aganyst accidie, in remembring þat gif God
do gud to ony man, therfor followeth it not þat he ouht
also weil to do to the. For he giffis not to him al þat he
hath ne þat he may gyue, ne in þat so gyuynge he taketh
10 away no thing fra the. And þerfor our God has giffin to
us ane example in þe gossell of þem þat lauboreth in þe
wynzerd, quhen he reprevid þaim þat had wrocht fro þe
mornynge wnto þe evyn of þat þai murmured, he causð þat
þe lord of þe wynzard gef als moche sallary & wages to
15 þaim þat wer com at evinsang² tym, as to þaim þat had
laubored all þe day. And said to þaim þat he did

[^a fol. 104^a]

¹⁻¹ greignour.

² R.J. labore. A. enue.

²⁻³ R. salaire. A. salaire et loier.

Caxton.

them / that he dyd them no wronge / and that of his
owne good he myght doo his wyll /

e. Pride.

¶ Pryde is a vyce of Inequalityte / or to ¹be inegal to
other and not lyke ¹ / For a proud man wyll haue no
pere / ne egall to hym / but loueth better to be allone 5
²not lyke any other ² / And therefore humylyte and
strengthe ben two vertues / that loue egalte / And in
that they be ageynst pryde yf thou prowde knyght wylt
vaynquysshe thy pryde / Assemble within thy courage
humylyte and strengthe / For humylyte without 10
strengthe ³is nothyng ³ / ne it maye not holde ageynst
pryde / And pryde maye not be vaynquysshe / but by
that / whan thou shalt be armed and mounted vpon
thy grete hors / thou shalt be paraunter proud / But
yf strengthe of Humylyte ^a * make the to remembre the 15
reson / ⁴& thentencion ⁴ wherfor thou arte knyght /

{* p. 71}

^a C. "of humylyte" repeated.

Loutfut.

paim no wrang, and pat of his awyn gud he mycht
do his will.

Prid is a vice of inequalite, or to be inegall to other
& not like. For a proud man will haue no pere, no
egall to him, bot loueth better to be allone, not like any 5
othir. And perfor humilite and strenth bene two vertues
that loue egalte, and in pat pai be aganyst prid. Giff
pow, proud knyght, wilt vengys pi prid, assemble within
pi courage humylite and streng[t]h. For humylite with-
out strenth is no thing no it may not hold aganyss prid. 10
And prid may not be vengys bot by that. Quhen pow
salbe armed & mounted upon thi gret hors, pow salbe
peraventour proud. Bot giff strenth off humilite mak
the to remembre pe resoun & thentencion quharfore

¹—¹ R. non pareil a autre. A.J. inegal a autre et non pareil.

²—² Om.

³—³ R. Om. A.J. na point force.

⁴—⁴ R. Om.

Caxton.

- thou shalt neuer be proud / And yf thou be proud /
 thou shalt neuer haue strengthe in thy courage / by
 whiche thou mayst cast out proud thoughtes / But yf
 thou be beten doune of thy horse in batayll / taken &
 5 vaynquysshed / thou shalt not be thenne so moche
 proud as thou were to fore / For strengthe of body
 hath vaynquysshid and surmounted the pryde of thy
 courage / Thenne yf strengthe of body maye vaynquysse
 and surmounte the pryde of thy courage / how be hit
 10 that noblesse is not a thyng corporal / Strengthe and
 humylite whiche ben thynges spyrytuel / ought moche
 better to caste out pryde of noble courage / ¶ Enuye *f. Envy.*
 is a vyce disagreeable to Iustyce / to charyte and to
 largesse / whiche apperteynen to thordre of chyualry /
 15 Thenne whan any knyght hath a slouthful herte and
 fayllynge of courage / and may not susteyne ne ensiewe
 thordre of chyualrye for deffaulte of strength / whiche is
 not in his courage / ne hath not in hym self the vertues

Loutfut.

- pow art knyht, pow sal neuer be proud. And giff pow
 be proud, pow sall neuer haff strenth in pi courage by
 quhiche pow mast cast out proud thoughtis. Bot gif
 pow be beten down of pi hors in batell, takin ande
 5 vencussid, thow sall not be pan so moche proud as
 thow wer tofore. For strenth of body hath vencussed
 and surmounted pe prid off pi courage. Thenn gif
 strenth off body may vencufs & surmount pe prid of
 pi courage, how * be it pat noblenefs is not a thing (* fol. 104*)
 10 corporall, strenth & humylite quhiche bene thingis
 spirituall oucht moche better to cast out prid of noble
 courage.

- Invy is a vice disagreeable to justice, to cherite, and
 to largesfs, quhiche appertenen to thordre of cheualry.
 15 Then quhen any knyght has a slouthfull hert and
 faillyn of courage, & may nocht sustene ne ensiewe
 thordre of cheualry for diffault of strenth, quiche is not
 in his courage, ne has not in him self pe vertuys of

Caxton.

[*p. 71b] of Iustyce / charyte / ne of *largesse / ¹suche fayte is
 force / vyolence dishonour and Iniurye to chyualrye¹ /
 And by that is many a knyght ²enuyous of others
 wele² / and is slowe to gete the goodes³ about seyde by
 strengthe of armes and is ful of euylle courage / enclyned⁴ 5
 and redy to take away other mennes thynges that be
 not his / and of whiche he was neuer in possession /
 And by that hym behoueth to thynke / how he myght
 make barates and falshede for to gete rychesses / of
 whiche somtyme the ordre of chyualrye is dishonoured / 10
 g. Anger. ⁴Ire is in courage troublement / and remembraunce of
 wycked wil⁴ And by this trouble and remembraunce
 it torneth hym in to ⁵forgetyng or oublyaunce⁵ / then-
 tendement in to ygnoraunce / and wyll in to not
 retchyng. And as to remembre / to vnderstonde / and 15

Loutfut.

iustice, cherite, ne of larges, suche fayt is force, violence,
 dishonour, & iniure to cheualry. And by *pat* is mony
 a knyght inuyous of otheris wille, and is slowe to get
 þe gudis abouteseyd by strenth of armes, and is full of
 euyll courage, enclyned & redy to tak away *opir* menis 5
 thingis *pat* be not his and of quiche he wes neuer in
 possessioun. And by *pat* him behuffeth to think how
 he mycht mak barates & falssed for to get riches, of
 quiche sumtym the ordre of cheualry is dishonored.

Ire is in courage troublement & remembrans of wiked 10
 will. And by pis trouble & remembrans it turnys him
 in to forgetting or oublyaunce, thentendment in to
 ignorance, and will in to not retching. And as to
 remembre, to wnderstand, & to will ben oft enlumynyng

¹ R. tel cheualier fait deshonneur en lordre de cheualerie.
 AJ. tel fait force violence deshonneur et iniure a lordre de cheualerie.

² A. ennemi d'autrui bien et enuieux.

³ biens.

⁴ Ire est troublement en courage de remembrement et en
 volente. Lull. Ira es torbament en coratge de remembrament,
 et entendre, et voler.

⁵ oubliance.

Caxton.

to wylle ben ofte enlumynyng / by the whiche a knyght
may folowe the way and the rule of chyualry / who
wylle thenne caste oute of his courage that whiche is
1 trouble of vnderstandyng / And of his spyryte hym
5 behoueth^a to recouere strength of courage / charite at-
temperance and pacyence¹ / whiche haue* domynacion [° p. 72]
vpon the refraynyng of yre / and they be reste and
allegeaunce of the trauayles and passions that yre
gyueth Of so moche that yre is grete² / of so moche hit
10 behoueth that he haue strengthe of courage that wylle
surmounte and Ioyne with hym benyuolence / abstyn-
ence / charyte pacyence and humylyte / And thus shalle
be yre surmounted and euylle wylle / yre and Inpacyence
and the other vyces³ appetyced and lassed³ / And whan
15 the vyces ben mynussed / And the vertues gretter as

^a C. behoneth.

Loutfut.

by pe quhiche a knyght may follow pe way & the rewl
off cheualry, quho will pen cast out off his courage pat
quhiche is trouble of wnderstanding? And of his sprete
him behuffeth to recouer strent^h of courage, cherite,
5 attemperance & paciens, quhiche haue dominacioun wpon
pe fraynyng of yre, and pai be rest & allegiance of pe
trauailis & passions pat ire gyueth. Of so moche pat
ire is gret, of so moche^a it behuffeth pat he haue
strent^h of courage pat will surmount & joyn with him
10 benyuolence, abstynence, cherite, paciens & humilite.
And pus shalle be yre surmonted, & euill will, yre
and inpaciens, and pe opir vices appeticed & * lassed. [° fol. 105]
And quhen pe vices bene mynuysshed ande pe vertuys

^a MS. adds—pat.

¹—troublement dentendement et desperit. Reconuerer lui
conuient a force de courage, a charite et attrempance et a
paciencie.

² greigneur.

³—apeticee.

*Caxton.*7. Temper-
ance.[^a p. 72 b]

ben Iustyce and wysedome / And¹ by the gretenesse of
 Iustyce and of wysedom is thordre of chyualrye the
 gretter / we haue sayd here to fore the manere after the
 whiche strengthe ought to be in the courage of a knyght
 ageynste the seuen dedely synnes / And we shalle say 5
 herafter of the vertu of attemperaunce / Attemperaunce
 is a vertu the whiche dwelleth in the myddle of two
 vyces / Of whome that one is synne by ouer grete
 quantite / And that other is synne by ouer lytyl
 quantyte / And therefore bytwene ouer moche and ouer 10
 lytyl muste be Attemperaunce * in so resonable quantite /
 that it be vertue / For yf there were noo vertue bytwene
 the ouer grete and ouer lytyl / there shold be no moyen /
 And that may not be / A knyght acustommed of good
 custommes and wel enseygne^d ought to be attempryd in 15
 hardynesse / in etynge / in drynkyng / In wordes and

*Loutfut.*Of þe
vertues of
attemper-
ance.

gretter, as bene justice & wisdom, and by þe gretnes of
 justice & of wisdom is thordre of cheualry þe grettar,
 we haff said here befor þe maner eftir the quhiche
 strenth aucht to be in þe courage of a knyght aganys
 þe vii dedly synnys. And we sall say here eftir of þe 5
 vertu of attemperance.

Attemperance is a vertu þe quhiche duelleth in þe
 myddis of two vices, of quhom þat one is synn by our
 grett quantite, and þat opir is syn by our litill quantite.
 And perfor betuen our moche and our litill muste be 10
 attemperance in so resonable quantite þat it be vertu.
 For gif þer wer ne vertu betwene [þe]^a our gret and
 our litill, ther suld be ne moyen, and þat may not
 be. A knyght, acustommed of gud custommes and weil
 enseigne^d, oucht to be attemperit in hardynes in 15
 eting, in drynking, in wordis and dispensis, and opir

^a MS. by.¹ R. Om.

Caxton.

dyspensys / and other thynges semblable to the same /
 without attemperaunce a knyght maye not mayntene
 thordre of chyualrye / ¹ ne he may not be in place where
 vertue dwelleth¹ / The custome and vsage of a knyght
 5 ought to be to here masse and sermon / to adoure and
 pray to god / and the same to loue and drede / for
 by that acustommaunce a knyght may remembre the
 deth and fylthe of this world and demaunde of god the
 celestyal glory and drede and doubte the paynes of helle
 10 And by that he maye acustomme hym to vse vertues and
 other thynges that apperteyne to mayntene thordre of
 chyualrye / But a knyght that to this doth the con-
 trarye / and byleueth in deuynaylles / and in fleyng of
 byrdes doth ageynst god / & hath gretter fayth & hope
 15 in the wynde of his *hede & in the werkes that the
 byrdes done & the deuynours / than in god and in

The cus-
 toms of a
 knight.
 1. To hear
 mass and
 sermon.

Divination
 is de-
 nounced.

[* p. 73]

Loutfut.

thingis semblable to the sam. Without attemperance
 a knyght may not manteine thordre of cheualrye, ne
 he may not be in place quhar vertu duellis.

The custom & vsage of a knyght oucht to be to here
 5 mefs & sermon, to adoure & pray to God, and the sam
 to loue & dred. For by *pat* a-custommance a knyght
 may remembre *pe* detht & filtht of *pis* world, and
 demand of God *pe* celestiall glore, and dred [and]
 dowt *pe* panys of Hell. And by *pat* he may acustom
 10 him to vse *vertuys* and *opir* thingis *pat* apperten to
 mantene thordre of cheualry. Bot a knyght *pat* to this
 doth *pe* contrary, and byleueth in deuynailles and in
 fleyng of birdis, doth aganys God & hath gretter faitht
 & hoip in *pe* wynd of his hed, and in *pe* werkes *pat*
 15 *pe* birdis done & *pe* deuynours,* *pan* in God and in his

[* fol. 105 b]

¹ ne faire estre lordre de cheualerie au lieu ou demeure
 vertu.

Caxton.

hys werkes / And therefore suche a knyght is not agreable
 to god / ne maynteneth not thordre of chyualrye / The
 carpenter / ne the tayllour / ne the other crafty men
 haue not power to vse theyr offyce / withoute the art
 and the manere that apperteynen to theyr offyces / And 5
 as god hath gyuen discrecion and reason to a knyght /
 by whiche he can vse his offyce / And yf he can lyue in
 mayntenynge the rule of chyualrye / yf he thenne soo
 do not / he doth wrong and jniurye to discrecion and
 to reason / For a knyght that leueth his discrecion / and 10
 that whiche reason and entendement sygnyfye and shewe /
 And he folowe and byleue the deuynaylles of them /
 that by the flyght of byrdes deuynen & sayen that the
 byrd that fleeth on the ryght syde sygnefyeth contrary
 to the lyfte syde / And to suche thynges ¹thynketh and 15
 gyueth affyaunce ¹ / Suche a knyzt casteth away the

Loutfut.

we[r]kis.^a And perfore suche a knyt is not greable
 to God, ne manteneth not thordre of cheualry. The
 carpenter, ne pe tayllour, ne pe opir crafty men
 hath not powere to vse per office without pe arte and
 pe maner pat appertenen to per offices. And as God 5
 has giffin discrecioun and resoun to a knyght by quiche
 he can vse his office, and giff be can liff in mantenyng
 the rewill of cheualry, giff he pen soo do not, he doith
 wrong & iniure to discrecioun & to resoun. For a
 knyght pat leueth his discrecioun and that quiche 10
 resoun & entendment signyfy & shew, and he follow
 and beleue pe deuynaylles of them pat by pe flicht of
 birdis deuynen and sayen pat pe bird pat fleith on pe
 richt sid signef[ieth]^b contrarye to pe lift sid, and to
 suche thingis thynketh and gyueth affiaunce, suche a 15
 knyght casteth away pe nobleness of his courage, and

^a MS. wekis.^b MS. signeth fecht.

Caxton.

noblesse of his courage / And is all lyke to a foole¹
 that vseth no wytte ne reason / But doth at al auenture
 al that he doth / * And therefore suche a knyght is [* p 73 b]
 ageynste god / And after ryght and reason he ought
 5 to be vaynquysshed and surmounted of his enemye
 whiche vseth reason and discrecion ageynst hym / and
 hath hope in god / And yf hit were not thus / it shold
 folowe that the deuynours by the flyghte of byrdes and
 other thynges withoute reason and ordre of chyualry /
 10 hath among them gretter concordance / than god /
 reason / discrecion / hope / feythe / and noble courage /
 And that is openly fals / knyghtes that adioust feyth
 to deuynours / that say that it is euylle happe to see
 2 a woman discoverd² in the mornyng / and that he
 15 maye not make ne doo a good fayte of armes that daye
 that he seeth the hede of his wyf / or any other³ bare
 and discoverd³ by the false byleue that he hath / Also

Loutfut.

is all lik to a foole pat vseth no witt ne reason, bot
 doith at al auentur al pat he doith. And perfor suche
 a knyght is agany God, & eftir ryght and resoun he
 5 oucht to be veneust and surmonted of his enemy, quiche
 wseth resoun & discrecioun agany him, and hath hope
 in God. And giff it wer not thus, it suld follow pat
 pe deuynours, by pe flicht of birdis & opir thingis
 without resoun and ordre of cheualry, hath amang pem
 grettar concordance pan God, resoun, hope, discrecioun,
 10 feyth & noble courage, and pat is opynly fals. Knyghtes
 pat adioust feith to deuynours pat say pat it is euyll
 happe to see a woman discovered in pe mornyng, and
 pat he may not mak ne doo a gud faytte of armes pat
 day pat he seith * pe heid of his wiff or any opir bair [* fol. 106]
 15 and discoverid, by pe fals byleue pat he has. Also like

¹ R. l'homme fol. A. l'homme seul. J. fol.

² A. le chief de femme descouvert (ll. 12-17 omitted in Lull).

³ a descouvert.

Caxton.

lyke as a Iuge vseth his offyce / whan he Iugeth ¹ after
 custome / Ryght soo a knyght vseth his offyce whan he
 vseth reason and discrecion / whiche ben the customme
 of chyualrye ¹ / And also lyke as the Iuge that shokt
 gyue sentēce after witnesse / & thēne gyueth false 5
 [“ p. 74] Iugement by the flyght of byrdes / or by * barkyng of
 dogges / or by suche other thynges lyke to the same /
 Ryght so a knyghte doth ageynst his offyce / yf he doo
 not that whiche reason and discrecion showe to hym
 and wytnessen / but byleueth that whiche that the 10
 byrdes done by theyr necessytees / And by cause they
 go fleyng by the ayer at auenture / Thenne as it is soo /
 By that ought to ensiewe reason and discrecion / and
 doo after the sygnefyaunce that bys armures representen /
 lyke to that whiche we haue said to fore / And of the 15
 thynges that happen by aduenture / he ought not to
 make necessite ne customme /

Loutfut.

til a juge wseth his office quhen he iuges eftir custome,
 rychtso a knyght wseth his office quhen he wseth reasoun
 & discrecioun, quhiche bene þe custom of cheualry. And
 also lik as þe Juge þat suld gif sentence eftir witnesse,
 and þan [giffis] fals iugement by þe flicht of birdis, or 5
 by barking of doggis, or by suche opir thingis lik to
 þe sam, rychtso a knyght dois agane his office gif he
 do not þat quhiche resoun & discrecioun schew to him
 & witness[en],^a bot belevis þat quhiche [þe birdis] doo
 by þer necessiteis, and by caufs þai go fleing by þe air 10
 at auentur. Thenn as it is so, by that oucht to ensiewe
 resoun & discrecioun, & doo eftir þe signyfyans þat his
 armures representen, lik to þat quhiche we haf said
 tofore. And of þe thingis þat happin by auentur he
 oucht noch to mak necessite no custome. 15

* MS. witnessing.

¹—¹ *RJ.* selon coustume. *A.* selon coustume et discrecion qui
 sont coustumes de cheualerie.

Caxton.

¶ To a knyght apperteyneth / that he be loue² of
the comyn wele / For by the comynalte of the people
was the chyualrye founden and establisshed / And the
comyn wele is gretter and more necessary than propre
5 good and speycall /

To a knyght apperteyneth to speke ¹nobly and ¹
curtoisly / and to haue fayr harnoys and to be wel
cladde / and to holde a good houshold / and an honest
hows / For alle these thynges ben to honoure Chyualrye
10 necessarye / ¶ Curtosye and *Chyualry concorden to
gyder / For vylaynous and foule wordes ben ageynst
thordre of chyualrye / Pryualte and acqweyntaunce of
good folke / loyalte & trouthe / hardynesse / largesse /
honeste / humylyte / pyte / and the other thynges sembl-
15 able to these apperteyne to Chyualry / And in lyke wyse
as he ought to god to compare all his noblesse / ²Ryght
so a knyght ought^a to compare to alle that / wherof

^a C. ought.

Loutfut.

To ane knyght appertenys *pat* he be loue of the
comyn weil. For by *pe* comynalte of *pe* peple wes *pe*
cheualry fundin and stablissed. And *pe* comyn wele
is grettar & mair necessary *pan* propir gud and speciale.
5 To a knyght appertenys to spek nobly & curtasly, and
to haf fair harnes, & to be weil cled, and to hald a gud
houshold & ane honest houfs. For al *pis* thingis bene to
honour cheualry necessary. Curtasy & cheualry accordeth
to gidder. For vilaynous & foull wordis bene aganis
10 thordre of cheualry. Pryualte and acqweyntance of gud
folk, loyalte & trewth, hardynes, larges, honeste, humylyte,
pyte & *pe* other thingis semblable to *pis*, apperteyne to
cheualry. And in likwifs as he oucht to God to compair
al his nobles, richt so a knyght oucht to compar to all *pat*

¹⁻¹ A. Om.

²⁻² Aussey a cheuallier doit on comparer tout ce dont cheualerie
peut auoir honneur par ceulz quy sont en son ordre.

Caxton.

The nobility
of knight-
hood rests
not on ex-
ternals, but
on virtue
which
comes from
within.

chyualry may receyue honour for them that ben in his
ordre² / The custome and the good enseygnement that a
knyght dothe to his hors / is not so moche to mayntene
thordre of chyualrye as is the good customme / & good
enseygnement that he doth to hym self and to his chil- 5
dren / For chyualry¹ is not only¹ in the hors ne in the
armes / but hit is in the knyght / that wel enduceth and
enseyneth his hors / and acustommed hym self and his
sone to good enseygnements / & vertuouse werkes /
¶ And soo a wycked knyght^a / whiche enduceth and 10
enseygneth hym self and his Sone to euylle enseygne-
mentys and doctrynes / he enforceth to make of hym self
and of his * sone beestes and of his hors a knyghte /

[* p. 75]

^a C. knygte.

Loutfut.

quharof cheualry may rasaif honour for þaim þat bene
in his ordre.

[* fol. 106 b]

The custome & þe gude ensen^azement þat a knyght
dois to his hors is not so moche to mantene thordre of
cheualry as is þe gud custome and gud ensenzement þat 5
he dois to him self and to his children. For cheualry is
not only in þe hors ne in þe armys, bot it is in þe knyght,
þat will enduceth and wil enseyneth his hors and acus-
tomed him self and his sone to gud ensenzementis &
vertuys werkis. And so a wiket knyt, quiche enduceth 10
& ensenzeneth him self & his sone to evil ensenzementis
& doctryns, he enforceth to mak of him self & of his sone
bestis and of his hors a knyght.

¹⁻¹ R. nest pas. AJ. nest mie.

Caxton.

¶ Of the honour that ought to be done to a knyght

Gode hath honoured a knyghte / And all the peple
 honoureth hym lyke as in this booke is recoūted¹ And
 Chyualrye is an honourable offyce aboue alle offyces /
 5 ordres / and estates of the world / reserued thordre of
 presthode / whiche apperteyneth to the holy sacrefyce of
 thaulter / And thordre of chyualry is moche necessary /
 as touchyng the gouernemēt of the world / lyke as we
 haue tofore touchyd / And therfor chyualry by alle these
 10 reasons / and by many other ought to be honoured of
 the peple / yf to a kyng ne to a prynce were not noblesse
 of Chyualry incorporate / ¹by deffaulte of that whiche
 they shold not be suffysaunt / & that they hadde not in
 them the vertues ne thonour that apperteyneth to thordre
 15 of chyualry¹ / ¶ They shold not be worthy to be
 kynges / ne Prynces ne lordes of Countrees / For in

The honour
 due to a
 knight.

Loutfut.

Of þe honour þat aucht to be done to a knyght.

Gode has honored a knyght, and al þe pepill honoureth
 him, lik as in þis buk is recounted. And cheualry
 is ane honorable office abone al officis, ordouris & estat^{is}
 5 of þe warld, reserued thordre of presthed, quliche apper-
 teneth to þe holy sacrifice of þe alter. And thordre of
 cheualry is moche necessary as touching þe gouernement
 of þe world, lik as we haue to fore tuiched. And þairfor
 cheualry be al this resounys and be mony other aucht
 10 to be honored of þe peple. Gif to a king nor to a prince
 war not noblesse of cheualry incorporate, by default of
 þat quliche þai schold not be suffisand, and þat þai had
 not in þem þe vertuys ne honour þat apperteneth to
 thordre of cheualry, thai suld not be worthi to be kinges
 15 or princes ne lordis of countreis. For in þem cheualry

¹⁻¹ R. par deffaulte de ce, quilz nauroient pas en eulz les vertus
 quy appartiennent a cheualerie. A. par deffault quilz ne seroient
 mie suffisans et quilz nauroient mie en ceulx les vertus ni lonnour
 qui appartiennent a lordre de cheualerie.

Caxton.

[* p. 75 b] * them Chyualry ought to be honoured / The knyghtes
 ought thenne to be honoured by the kynges and grete
 barons / For lyke as by the knyghtes the hyhe barons
 ben honoured aboue the moien peple / Ryght soo the
 kynges and the hyhe Barons oughten aboue the other 5
 people to holde the knyghtes / Chyualrye and Fraunchyse
 accorden to gyder / And to the franchise & seynorye
 of the kyng or of the prynce ¹accorden to ¹the knyghtes /
 For the knyght must be ²free and franke ² / by cause
 that the kyng is his lord / And therfore it behoueth that 10
 thonour ^a of a kyng or of a prynce / or of euery baron
 and lord of a lond be ³accordyng in ³thonour of a
 knyght / in suche manere / that the kyng or prynce be
 lord / and the knyght be honoured / To thonour of a
 knyght apperteyneth that he be loued for his ⁴bounte 15
 and goodnesse ⁴ / And that he be ⁵doubted and dredde ⁵

Kings and
 barons
 should
 honour
 them.

^a C. thour.

Loutfut.

oucht to be honored. The knyghtis oucht pen to be
 honored by pe kingis & gret barounys. For like as by
 pe knyghtes pe heich barounys bene honored abon pe
 moien peple, ryghtso pe kingis & pe hie barons oucht
 abon pe opir * pepill to hold the knyghtes. 5

[* fol. 107]

Cheualry & fraunchyse and sengzeoury of pe king
 or of pe prince accorden to gidder. And to the franchise
 and senghzeory of pe king or of pe prince accorden to pe
 knyghtes. For pe knyght must be free & franke becaufs
 pat pe king is his lord. And perfor it behuffeth pat 10
 honour of a king or of a prince or of euery baroun &
 lord of a lond, be accordyng in thonour of a knyght, in
 manere that the king or prince be lord and pe knyght be
 honord. To thonour of a knyght apperteneth that he be
 loued for his bounte & gudnefs, and pat he be dowted & 15

¹⁻¹ se concordent.
⁴⁻⁴ bonte.

²⁻² franc.
⁵⁻⁵ doute.

³⁻³ concordant a.

Caxton.

by his strengthe ¹ And that he be prayd for his debon-
ayrte & pryualte / & by cause that he is counceyllour of
the kyng or of the prynce / or of another hyhe baron /
¶ Thenne to despryse a baron ¹ by cause he is of the
5 * same nature / of whiche euery man is / is to despryse alle [° p. 76]
the thynges afore sayd ² for whiche a knyght ought to be
honoured ² / Euery noble baron and hyhe lord that hon-
oureth a knyght / ² & holdeth hym ² in hys Courte in his
counceylle and at his table he honoureth hym self / And
10 semblably he that honoureth hym in bataylle / honoureth
hym self / ¶ And the lord that of a wyse knyght maketh
his messenger or embassatour delyueryth his honour to
noblesse of courage / & the lord that multiplyeth honour
in a knyght that is in his seruyce / multiplyeth honour

Loutfut.

dred by his strenth, and pat he be prayd for his debonerte
& pryualte, and by caufs pat he is consalour of pe king,
or of pe prince, or of ane other hie baroun. Thenn to
despifs a baroun, by caufs he is of pe sam natur of
5 quhiche euery man is, is to dispifs al pe thinges aforsaid,
for quhiche a knyght oucht to be honored. Euery noble
baron & hie lord pat honoreth a knyght & holdith him in
his contre, in his consal, and at his table, he honored
him self; & semblably he pat honoreth him in batal
10 honoreth him selff. And pe lord pat of a wifs knyght
maketh his messinger or eubassatour delyuereth his
honour to noblenes of courage. And pe lord pat multi-
plyeth honour in a knyght pat is in his seruice multiplith

¹⁻¹ *R.* quil soit loe par ces fais ou proesse et quil soit familier
ou humain par sa familiarite. Et pour ce quil est conseillier du
roy ou dautre hault baron. Doncques mespriser cheualier. . . .
AJ. et quil soit loe par ses faiz et par sa proesce et quil soit de prie
par sa priuete et pour ce quil est conseillier du roy ou du prince ou
dautre hault baron. Donc mesprisier cheualier. . . . *Lull.* A
honor de canayler se coue^a que sie amat cor es bo, et que sie
temut^b cor es forts, et que sie lohat^c cor es de bons fets, et que sie
pregat^d cor es priuat e conseylor de senyor.

^a it behoves. ^b feared. ^c praised. ^d besought.

²⁻² *Om.*

Caxton.

Chivalry is
honoured
when the
sanctity of
marriage is
respected.

[* p. 76 b]

in hym self / And the lord that aydeth and maynteneth
a knyzt he doth¹ his offyce / and enforceth his seyg-
norye / And the lord that is pryue with a knyght hath
amytye² to chyualry / To requyre foly of the wyf of a
knyzt / ne tenclyne her to wyckednesse / is not the 5
honour of a knyght / And the wyf of a knyzt whiche
hath children of vylayns / honoureth not the knyght /
but destroyeth and bryngeth to nought the aunceynte of
the noble confraternyte / and^a of the noble lygnage of a
knyght / ¶ A knyght also that^{*} hath children of a vylayne 10
woman / honoureth not gentylnesse ne chyualrye / And
as it is so thene gentylnesse and the honour of chyualry
accorden to gyder³ in a knyght³ / and in a lady / by the
vertue of maryage / And the contrary is destruction of
Chyualry / yf the men that ben not knyghtes ben oblyged 15

^a C. aud.

Loutfut.

honour in *him* self. And þe lord þat aydith & man-
tenyth a knyght, he doith his office & enforsith his
sengzeory. And þe lord þat is pryue *with* a knyght hath
amytie to cheualry.

[* fol. 107 b]

To require foly of þe wif of a knyght, ne tenclyn *him* 5
to wikytne, is not the honour of a knyght. And þe wif
of a knyght, quich has children of v[y]lay[n]s,^a honoreth
not þe knyght, bot distroyeth & bryngeth to nocht the
amyciemite of þe noble confraternite and of the noble
lygnage of a knyght. Also [he þat]^b hath children^{*} of a 10
vilayn woman honoreth not gentilnes ne cheualry. And
as it is so, then gentilnes and þe honour of cheualry
accorden to gidder in a knyght and in a lady by þe vertu
of mariage, and þe contrary is distructioun of cheualry.

Gif þe men þat bene not knyghtes bene obliged & 15

^a MS. valayous.

^b MS. þat he.

¹ ordonne.

² MSS. add—et compagnie.

³⁻³ A. Om.

Caxton.

and holden to honoure a knyght / ¹moche more is oblyged
 and bounden a knyzt to honoure his body in beyng wel
 cladde and nobly / and in beyng wel horset / and to
 haue fayr harnois good and noble / and to be seruyd
 5 and honoured of good persones moche more without com-
 paryson than of other / Thenne to honoure the noblesse
 of his courage / by the whiche he is in thordre of chy-
 alry¹ / the whiche courage is disordynate / and dis-
 honoured whan a knyght putteth foule thoughtes /
 10 wyckednesse and traysons in hym self and casteth oute
 of his courage noble thoughtes and good cogytacions
 whiche apperteyne to thordre of chyualry / The knyght
 that dishonoureth hym self and his pere / that is to wete

Knights are
 required to
 set a good
 example.

Loutfut.

holden to honour a knyght, moche more is obliged &
 boundin a knyght to honour his body in beyng weill cled
 & nobly, and in beyng weil horsst, and to haue fair
 harnes, gud & noble, & to be seruyt & honoryd of gud
 5 personis, moche more without comparisone pan of opir.
 Pan to honour pe noblefs of his courage by pe quhiche
 he is in thordre of cheualry, pe quiche courage is dis-
 ordanyt and dishororyt quhen a knyght putteth foul
 thoughtes, wikidnefs and traysons in him self, and casteth
 10 out of his courage noble thingis & gud cogitacionys,
 quhiche appertenen to thordre of cheualry; pe knyght
 pat dishonoreth him self and his pere, pat is to wite

¹⁻¹ *AJ.* moult est obligiee et tenue cheualerie a honnourer soy
 mesmes. Car tout cheualier est tenu a honnourer son corps en
 estre bien vestu et noblement et bien monte et auoir bel hernois
 noble et bon, et estre serui et honnoure de bon seruitours, moult
 plus sans comparaison doit honnourer la noblesce de son courage.
R. trop plus est oblegie cheuallier et tenu a honnourer soy meismes,
 car tout cheuallier est tenu de honnourer son corps en estre bien
 vestu et noblement, en estre bien monte, en auoir bel harnois et
 bon et moult plus sans comparaison en estre seruy et honnoure
 de bonnes personnes et honnestes. Donques le cheuallier doit
 honnourer la noblesse de son courage par laquelle il est en lordre
 de cheualerie.

Caxton.

[p. 77]

another knyght / he is not dygne ne worthy to haue
 honoure / * For yf he were worthy / wronge shokk be done
 to the knyght that holdeth & doth to Chyualry as touch-
 yng to hym self and to that other knyght / ¶ Thenne as
 chyualry hath his dwellyng in the noble courage of a 5
 knyght / no man may not so moche honoure or dis-
 honoure chyualry as a knyght / Many ben thonours and
 the reuerences / that ought to be done to a knyght / And
 of as moche as the knyght is gretter / of soo moche is he
 more charged and bounden to honoure chyualry / ¶ In 10
 this book here haue we spoken shortly ynough of thordre
 of chyualry / therfor we make now here an ende / to
 thonour and the lawde of god our^a glorious lord / and
 of our lady saynt Mary / whiche be blessyd in secula
 seculorū Amen.

15

^a C. ouy.*Loutfut.*

a-nopir knyght, he is not digne no worthi to haf honour.
 For gif he war worthi, wrong suld be done to pe knyt pat
 holdeth & doith to cheualry as tuiching to him self and
 to pat opir knyght. Pen as cheualry hath his duelling in
 pe noble courage of a knyght, no man may not so moche 5
 honour nor dishonour cheualry as a knyght. Mony bene
 thonouris & reuerencis pat oucht to be done to a knyt,
 & of moche as pe knyght is grettar, of so moche is he
 more chargit and bundin to honour cheualry.

In pis buk here haf we spokin schortly ynough of 10
 thordre of cheualry. Perfor we mak now here^a ane end
 to thonour and the lawde of God^b glorious Lord and
 of our Lady Saint Mary, quhiche be blissid in secula
 Seculorum. Amen.

^a Above is inserted in the same hand—"maby."^b "ony" is deleted.

Caxton.

- ¶ Here endeth the book of thordre of chyualry / whiche
book is translated oute of Frensshe in to Englysshe at a
requeste of a gentyl and noble esquier by me William
Caxton dwellynge at Westmynstre * besyde london in the
5 most best wyse that god hath suffred me / and accordynge
to the cople that the sayd squyer deliuered to me / whiche
book is not requysite to euery comyn man to haue / but
to noble gentylmen that by their vertu entende to come
& entre in to the noble ordre of chyualry / the whiche in
10 these late dayes hath ben used accordynge to this booke
here to fore wretton but forgotten / and the xersytes of
chyualry / not used / honoured / ne excercysed / as hit
hath ben in auneynt tyme / at whiche tyme the noble
actes of the knyghtes of Englonde that used chyualry
15 were renowned thurgh the vniuersal world / as for to
speke to fore thyncarnacion of Jhesu Cryste where were
there euer ony lyke to brenius and belynus that from the
grete Brytayne now called Englonde vnto Rome & ferre

Caxton's
Epilogue.
The history
of his
translation.

[* p. 77 b]

It is
intended
for noble
gentlemen.

Chivalry is
no longer
practised
as in the
days of old.

Loutfut.

- H**ir endeth þe buk of thordre of cheualry, * quhiche
buk is translatid out of Franche in to Ynglis at þe
request of a gentill & noble squyer, by me, Willjam
Caxtone, duelling in Westmynstre besid Londyn, in the
5 most best wifs þat God has suffred me, and accordene to
þe cople þat þe said squyer deliueryt to me. Quhiche
buk is nocht requysite to euery comyn man to haue, bot
to noble gentill men þat by þe vertu entend to com &
entre in þe noble ordre of cheualry, þe quhich in þis late
10 dais hath ben used according to þis buk here tofore
writtin, bot forgotten, & exerciteis of cheualry not used,
honord no excerced as it aucht bene in auneynt tym;
at quhich tym þe noble actes of þe knyghtes of Englonde
þat used cheualry war renounyt thro þe vniuersal world.
15 As for to spek tofore thyncarnacione of Ihesu Crist, quhar
wer þe euer ony lik to Brenius & Belynus, that from the
Grett Bryttan now called England wnto Rome & fer

[* fol. 108]

Caxton.

[* p. 78]

Caxton
exhorts the
knights to
emulate
bygone
English
heroes.

beyonde conquered many Royammes and^l londes / whos
 noble actes remayne in thol^l hystories of the Romayns /
 And^l syth the Incarnacion of oure lord / byhold that
 noble kyng of Brytayne kyng Arthur with al the noble
 kny³tes of the roūd table / whos noble actes & noble 5
 chyualry * of his knyghtes / occupye so many large
 volumes / that is a world^l / or as thyng incredyble to
 byleue / O ye knyghtes of Englon^d where is the custome
 and^l vsage of noble chyualry that was vse^l in tho dayes /
 what do ye now / but go to the baynes & playe att dyse 10
 And^l some not wel aduysed vse not honest and good rule
 ageyn alle ordre of knyghthode / leue this / leue it and
 rede the noble volumes of saynt graal of lancelot / of
 galaad / of Trystram / of perse forest / of Percyual / of
 gawayn / & many mo / Ther shalle ye see manhode / 15
 curtosye & gentylnesse / And^l loke in latter dayes of
 the noble actes syth the cōquest / as in kyng Rychard^l

Loutfut.

bezond conquered mony realmys & landis, quhois noble
 actes remane in thold historeis of *pe* Romanys? And
 sith *pe* incarnacione of our Lord, byhold *pat* noble king
 of Brytan King Arthour, [with]^a al *pe* noble kny^{ch}tis of
pe Round Table, quhas noble actes & noble cheualry of 5
 his knyghtes occupy sa mony large volumes *pat* [is] as a
 world or as a thing incredible to byleue.

O yhe knyghtes of Englon^d, quhar is *pe* custom &
 vsage of noble cheualry *pat* wes wsed in tho dais? Quhat
 do *3e* now bot go to *pe* baynes and play at *pe* difs? And 10
 sum not wele aduysit use not honest & gud reull, ageyne
 all thordre of kny^{ch}thed. Leve *pis* and leve *pat*, & red
pe noble volumes of Saint Graal, of Lancelot, of Galaad,
 of Tristram, of Perseforest, of Percyuall, of Gawyan &
 mony mo. Ther sal *3he* se manhed, curtosye & gentilnes. 15
 And luk in lattir dais of *pe* noble actes syth the Conquest,

* MS. quhiche.

Caxton.¹

dayes cuer du lyon / Edward the fyrste / and the thyrd /
 and his noble sones / Syre Robert knolles / syr Iohan
 Hawkwode / Syr Iohan chaũdos / & Syre gaultier Manny^a
 rede froissart / And also behold that vycoryous and
 5 noble kynge Harry the fyfthe / and the capytayns vnder
 hym his noble bretheren / Therle of Salysbury Montagu /
 and many other whoos names shyne gloriously by their
 vertuous noblesse & actes that they did in thonour of
 * thordre of chyualry / Allas what doo ye / but slepe &
 10 take ease / and ar al disordred fro chyualry / I wold
 demaunde a question yf I shold not displease / how many
 knyghtes ben ther now in Englonde / that haue thuse and
 thexcercyse of a knyghte / that is to wete / that he
 knoweth his hors / & his hors hym / that is to saye / he
 15 beyng redy at a poynt to haue al thyng that longeth to
 a knyght / an hors that is accordyng and broken after his

[^a p. 78 b]

He doubts
their skill
in chivalric
practices.

^a C. Manny.

Loutfut.

as in Kinge Richard dais, Cuer du Lione, Edward pe
 First & the Third & his noble sones, Sir Robert Knolles,
 Syre Jhon Hawkwod, * Syre Jhone Chandos and Sir
 Galter Manny. Red Froissart. And also behold pat
 5 victorious & noble King Harrye pe Fifth and pe capitans
 wndir him, his noble bretheren, therle of Salisbury
 Montagu, and mony opir quhois names shyne gloriouslie
 by per vertuys, noblefs & actes pat pai did in honour of
 thordre of cheualry. Allas, quhot do [y]he^a bot sleip and
 10 tak ease, and ar all distroed fro cheualry? I wold demand
 a questioun gif I schold not displease. How mony
 knyghtes bene per now in England pat has thuse &
 exercisioun of a knyght? pat is to wit, pat knoweth
 his hors & his hors him, pat is to say, he beyng redy
 15 at a poynt to haue all thing pat langeth to a knyght, ane
 hors pat is accorden & broken eftir his hand, his armouris

[^a fol. 103 b]

^a MS. thee.

Caxton.

He suggests
to the king,
that
periodical
jousts
should
be held.

hand / his armures and harnoy's mete and sytting / &
so forth / et cetera / I suppose and a due serche shold be
made / ther shold be many founden that lacke / the
more pyte is / j wold it pleasyd oure souerayne lord that
twyes or thryes in a yere / or at the lest ones he wold do 5
crye Iustes of pees / to thende that every knyght shok
haue hors and harneys / and also the vse and craft of a
knyght / and also to tornoye one ageynste one / or ii
ageynst ii / And the best to haue a prys / a dyamond or
Iewel / suche as shold please the prynce / This shok 10
cause gentylmen to resorte to thauncyent customes of
chyualry to grete fame and renō^m / And also to be
alwey redy to serue / theyr prynce whan he shalle calle
them / or haue nede / Thenne late every man that is
come of noble blood and entendeth to come to the noble 15
ordre of chyualry / rede this lytyl book / and doo ther-
after / in kepyng the lore and commaundements therin
comprysed / And thenne I doubte not he shall atteyne

[* p. 79]

Loutfut.

and harnes meit & sitting & so furth, etc. I suppos &
a due serche suld be maid, per suld be mony fundin pat
lacke, the more pite is.

I wold it pleasit our souerane lord pat twifs or thrifs in
a yer, or at pe lest onys, he wald do crye justis of peese, 5
to thend pat every knyght suld haff hors & harnes, and
also pe vse and craft of a knyht, and also to thornoye one
aganest one, or ii aganest ii, and pe best to haue a prifs,
a diamond or jowell, suche as suld ples pe prince. Thys
schold caufs gentilmen to resort to thaunciennt customes 10
off cheualry to gret fame & renoune, and also to be alwey
redy to serue per prince quhen he schal call paim or haue
neid. Thenn latt euerey man pat is cummyn of noble
blud & entendeth to cum to pe noble ordre of cheualry,
reid pis litill buk and do per eftir in keping pe lore & 15
commandmentis perin comprised. And pen I dout not
he sal attene to thordre of cheualry, etc.

Caxton.

to thordre of chyualry / et cetera / And thus thys lytyl
book I presente to my redoubted naturel and most dradde
soueraigne lord kyng Rychard kyng of Englonde and of
Fraunce / to thende / that he commaunde this book to
5 be had and redde vnto other yong lordes knyghtes and
gentylmen within this royaume / that the noble ordre of
chyualrye be hereafter better vsed & honoured than hit
hath ben in late dayes passed / And herin he shalle do a
noble & vertuose dede / And I shalle pray almyghty god
10 for his long lyf & prosperous welfare / & that he may
haue victory of al his enemyes / and after this short &
transitory lyf to haue euerlastyng lyf in heuen / where as
is Ioye and blysse world without ende Amen /

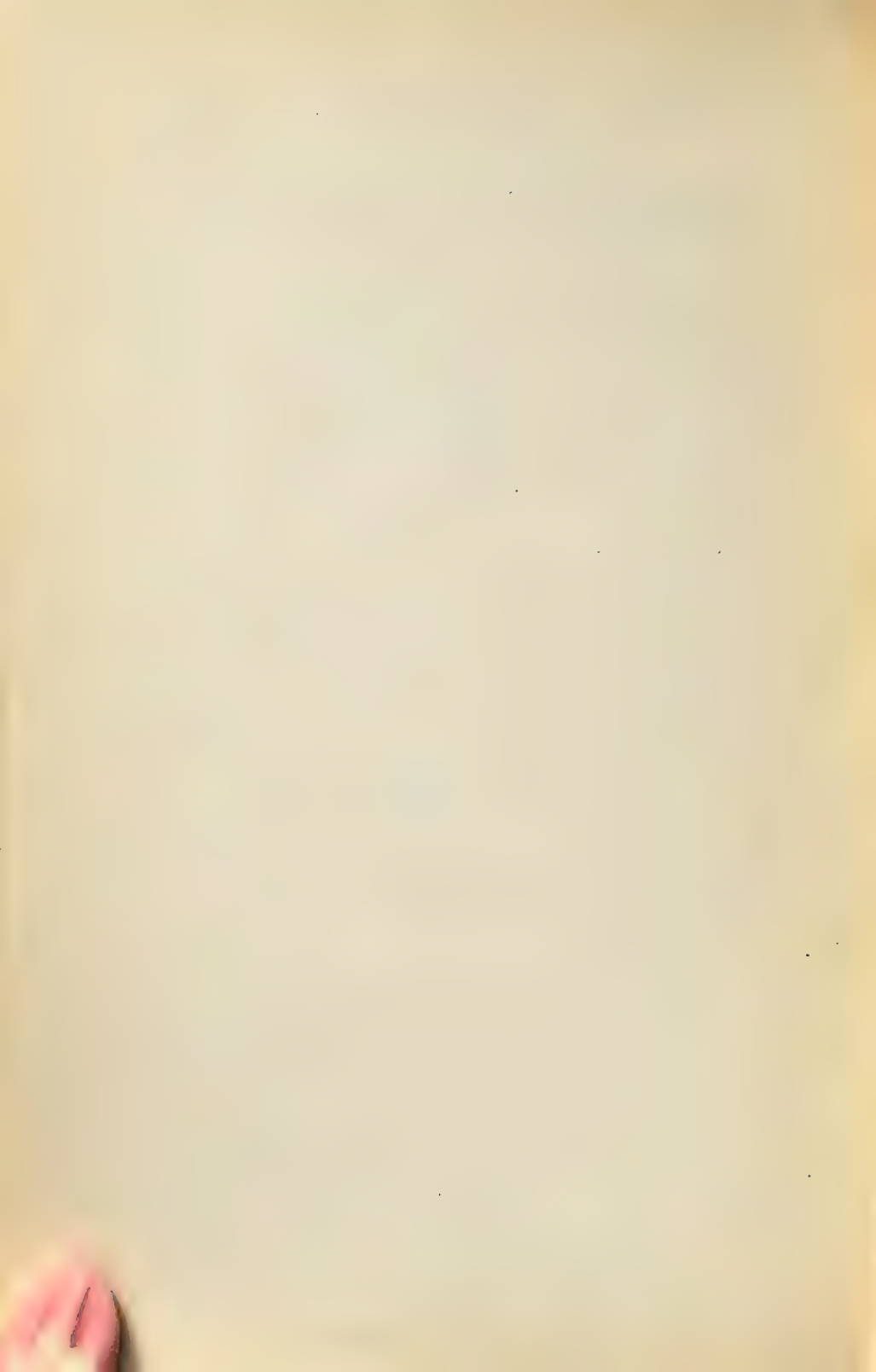
He dedi-
cates the
book to
King
Richard III.

Loutfut.

And þus þis litil buk I present to my redoutit, naturall
& most draad souerane lord, King Richart, King of Englonde
& of Fraunce, to thend that he command þis buk to be
had & red [un]to^a other ȝoung lordis, knyghtes and
5 gentillmen within þis realm, that þe noble ordre * of
cheualry be here eftir better vsed & honoured þan it
hath bene in latte dais passit. And here in he sall do
a noble and vertues ded. And I sall pray Almychti God
for his long liff, prosperans & weillfair, and þat he may
10 haue victoury of al his enemyfs and eftir þis schort &
transitorye liffe to haff euerlesting liff in Hevin quhar as
is joy and blifs, world without end. Amen.

[* fol. 109]

^a MS. one to.



APPENDIX

Making of knyghte of the Bathe.

At the end of the British Museum copy (1A 55071) of Caxton's "Ordre of Chyualry," there are three pages of MS., 79 *b*, 80, 80 *b* according to the modern foliation in pencil. The writing is in a fine Tudor hand and bears the heading given above. Dibdin printed a copy of it, made by Herbert, on p. 28 of Vol. II. of his edition of Ames' "Typographical Antiquities." This copy is inaccurate in many respects. The following is a copy taken from the original.

or to the worschip & lovyng of god. holy churche & thorder of knightehode // And when þe spryng of þe day appereth. þe squier schall confesse him. And þen here matynes & masse & after masse be houseled if he wyll // But after þat he be entred into þe chapell : he schall a taper of waxe brennyng in þe chapell bifor him. And when þe masse is begonne one of his chamberleynes schall hold þe taper bifore þe squier till þe gospell be begonne & þen he schall bitake hit unto þe squier to holde during þe gospell tyme. þe seid squier alwey hauyng his hede couered. And after þe ende of þe gospell : þe seid chamberleyn schall take þe seid candell from þe squier & sett hit down agane bifore him till þat þe masse be doon / And atte sakryng of the masse : one of the chamberleynes schall take þe squieres hooðe of his hede. & after þe sacryng putt hit on agane. till þe preste com till IN PRINCIPIO / And atte beginnyng perof : one of þe seid chamberleynes schall put off þe seyð squieres hooðe agane. & give him þe taper in his hande to stond up & holde. & þer must a penny be facked in þe seid taper above fast by þe light. And when þe preste commeth to VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST þe squier schall knele & offer þe taper with þe penny þat is to say : þe taper to þe worschip of god & þe penny in worschip of him þat schall make him knight // This doon : þe seides squieres chamberleynes schall bryng þe squier unto his chamber agane & putt him in his bed till hit be further furthe daies to rest þat þe watche of þe nyght made wery /

And as to his bed : hit schall be amended bifore *pat* he wake agane *pat* is to say : hit schalbe couered with a coueryng of a clothe of gold called sygleton. & hit schalbe lyned with blew carde // when *pe squieres chamberleynes* seen *pat* hit is tyme covenable. *pen* schall goo to *pe kyng* & say *pus* : moste victorious prince. when hit pleas your moste high magestie. *our maister* schall awake / And *pe kyng* schall commaunde *pe worthy & wies knightes. squieres. & mynstrelles* afforesaide to goo to *pe chamber of pe forseid squier.* forto awake him. array him & bring him bifore his highnes into *pe hault* / But bifore *pat* *pai* entre into *squieres chamber.* or *pe mynstrelles* make any melody. *pe squieres chamberleynes* schall prepaire all thinges by order forto delyuer to *pe knightes* forto aray *pe seid squier* / And when *pe knightes* be entred into *pe squieres chamber :* *pai* schall say softlye without noyse. *Sir :* god give you right good morow. & *Sir :* hit is tyme to arise & make you redy / And forthwith his chamberleynes schall lyfte him up by *pe armes.* & *pen* the moste worthy knight schall give him his schert & an oper schall give him his breche. *pe iii de* schall give him his doublett : an oper schall putt on a kyrtell or rede tartaryne. & ii oper schall lyfte him out of his bed. & ii oper schall putt on his hosen. which schalbe of blak sylke or elles of blak clothe with soles of ledder sewed vnto pame & ii oper schall layce his sleeves & an oper schall gyrdle him with a girdell of white ledder of an ynche brode without any harnace of any mettall. & an oper schall kembe his hede & an oper schall sett on his cappe. & an oper schall put on him a mantell of *pe sute of pe kirtell.* &. of rede tartaryne. knytte with a layce of white silk. with a paire of white glooves tyed to *pe ende of pe seid layce* // But *pe seid squier* schall haue of *pe chundeler of pe kynges household* *pe corse pe girdell & pe glooves :* And *pe seid chundeler* schall haue for his fee : all *pe garmentes,* all *pe aray with pe necessities* wheryn *pe squier* was araied & cladde *pe day pat* he entred into *pe corte* to be made knyght. with *pe bed pat* he lay furst in after his bathe the curteynes & all oper nec[ess]aries touching *pe seid bed* And also he schalhaue *pe furst garment pat pe squier* schall were after *pat* he hath taken *pe seid order* // And *pis doon :* *pe seides knightes & chamberleynes* goyng on foote schall bring *pe seid squier* on horsbak to *pe kynges haulte.* *pe mynstrelles* going bifore // And *pe hors*



Looke for more herof on *pe secund syde of pe lxxxi lefe* next folowing. (which is *pe 161 lefe in pe order of pis booke*) at such a sygne or

There is no more, however. After some investigations, I found the complete MS. in the British Museum MS., Cotton Nero C ix, a miscellaneous collection in which early MSS. are found together with statutes of Henry VIII. The article on the making of knights is one of several which are written in the same hand and are concerned with the coronation of Henry VI. on November 6, 1429. In the article "*Coronatio regis Henrici VI.*," it is stated that 32 Knights of the Bath were created on this occasion, and that on the next day the Prince of Portugal was knighted in Westminster Hall. The article, to which our fragment belongs, is headed:—

"Manner of making of a knight after the custom of England in time of peace, and at the coronation; that is Knights of the Bath."

It is therefore clear that this MS. is a contemporary account of the manner in which knights were made in 1429, and its historical value is increased by our ability to fix a definite date to it.

The tract is contained in Sir William Dugdale's "*Antiquities of Warwickshire*"¹ (1656) and also in the Harleian Miscellany,² the celebrated collection of papers from the library of Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford.³ Dugdale's copy, which he says is derived from "an antient French tract," is accompanied by 23 illustrations, copied from "a fair book" of Edward IV.'s time. The illustrations correspond to the 23 paragraphs into which the account is divided in Dugdale and the Harleian Miscellany. The copy in the latter is a reprint of a quarto of 10 pages, printed for Philip Stephens in 1661, "with a list of those honourable persons, who are to be created Knights of the Bath at his Majesty's Coronation, the twenty-third of April, 1661."

The following is a synopsis of the article:—

1. The knight designate is received at the royal court, and is provided with two squires of honour, or governors (called "*chamberlains*" in the Caxton MS.).

2. "And if the Esquire do come before dinner, he shall carry up one dish of the first course to the King's table."

3. The squire is conducted to his chamber.

4. In the evening, a bath is prepared and a number of knights and squires proceed with minstrelsy to the chamber.

5. The squire enters the bath, only the chosen knights and

¹ p. 531 *et seq.*

² Oldys-Park edition, 1808, Vol. I. pp. 558-561.

³ The article is reprinted in modern English in "*Selections from the Harleian Miscellany*" (ed. H. Savage).

the governors being present. The chief knight sprinkles water on his shoulders and instructs him in the Order.

6. The squire is dried and clothed, and the barber takes the bath as his fee.

7. The squire is conducted to the chapel.

8. The knights take leave of him.

9. Only the squire, the governors, the priest, the chandler, and the watch remain for the vigil, which lasts throughout the night and terminates with confession, mattins and mass.

Here follows the fragment transcribed above, comprising part of paragraph 9, all of paragraphs 10, 11, 12, and part of 13. The ceremonies of the mass, with the offering of the taper and the penny to the glory of God and the knight who is about to officiate, are described. The squire then goes to bed until later in the day,¹ and his bed is decorated while he sleeps.² The ceremonious dressing of the squire is described in detail.

13. The squire rides to court, preceded by a youth carrying his sword and spurs.

14. The marshal takes the horse for his fee.

15. The king commands the two noblest knights to fasten the squire's spurs, and he himself girds on the sword.

16. The king kisses the knight, saying, "Be thou a good knight." The new knight than pledges himself at the high altar to maintain the rights of the Church.

17. He offers his sword on the altar. "All which being accomplished, he is to take a draught of wine."

18. As he leaves the chapel, the master-cook says, "I, the King's master-cook, am come to receive your spurs as my fee; and if you do anything contrary to the order of Knighthood, (which God forbid!) I shall hack your spurs from your heels."

19. He then sits with the knights at dinner, "but he must neither eat nor drink at the table, nor spit, nor look about him, more than a bride."

20. In his chamber the knight is disrobed and his robes are given to the Kings of Arms.

21. He is dressed in a blue robe, with a "lace of white silk" on

¹ "Further furthe daies" in the Caxton MS. seems to be corrupt. Cot. Nero C ix has "forth day." The context requires the sense given above, rather than "till it be full daylight," the reading of the Harleian Miscellany.

² Harl. Misc. says that the squire, not the bed, is adorned with singleton, but this is a misreading of the MS.

his shoulder. He must wear this until he achieves some honour or renown in arms; then a prince, "or most noble lady," will cut it off.

22. The knight thanks the king for the honour bestowed on him.

23. The governors ask for their fees and take their leave.



GLOSSARY

The glossary provides a complete collation of the differences in spelling between Caxton and Loutfut, and supplies meanings where they are not obvious. Caxton's form is followed by Loutfut's, to which the reference is attached. One reference only is generally given to each word, and obvious scribal errors are not included; *m* indicates that a word occurs in Loutfut's marginal summary. Words are not included when the Scottish form differs from Caxton only in having *i* for *y*; *fs* for *se*; *-is*, *-id*, *-yd* for *-eth*, *-cs*, *-ed*; or in having lost final *e*. Where misunderstanding is possible, the part of speech is indicated.

Aboue, abone, 1/4. *above*. *O.E. abūfan*
accomplysshe, accomplysse, 46/11, *inf.*
accordeth, accodeth, 44/4, 5
accoydyng, accordene, 121/5
accydye, accidie, 102/15. *sloth*, *Lat.*

accidia

acquyentaunce, acquentance, 113/10
adiouste, adiouste, 111/11. *attach.*
"adiouste feyth" = give credence.
O.Fr. ajouster fey. See N.E.D. Adjoust

adoubed, doubit, 8/15, *p.p. dubbed.*
ordained. O.Fr. adouber. "adoubc"
also = equip. cf. 21/16

after, eftir, 3/8

ageyne, agane, 13/8

ageynst, aganis, 10/10. *against*

ayenst, aganyis, 62/7

„ aganest, 25/13

„ aganist, 97/6

„ aganyst, 98/3

„ agane, 64/5

agreable, greable, 110/1

alle, al, 4/6

allegeaunce, allegiance, 107/6

allowed, alowyd, 41/11. *praised. Fr.*
alouer: Lat. allaudare

almyty, almychti, 125/8

also, alsuo, 12/8

alwey, alway, 124/11

amonge, amang, 111/8

anguysshous, angwious, 24/15. *agonising*

another, a-nother, 23/7

„ ane opir, 26/15

answerd, ansuerd, 9/11

aourned, auorned, 57/11, *p.p. adorned.*

Fr. aourner

apparailled, appareld, 31/8. *prepared*

„ apparylled, 99/1

apperteinen, apperteneth, 70/2. *prs.*
pl.

apperteynaunt, appertenans, 95/15

apperteyne, pertenys, 3/2. *prs. pl*

„ appertenys, 32/1

„ apperteyn, 31/13

„ apperten, 32/6

apperteyneth, appertenis, 32*m.*

„ appertenyt, 9/6

„ appertenys, 23/1

„ pertenyt, 24/1

apperteynyng, appertenen, 102/2

appiere, apper, 61/12

appropred, appropriit, 16/7. *assigned.*

O.Fr. approprier

armures, armes, 16/4. *O.Fr. armure*

„ armys, 19/2

„ armouris, 81/5

arowsed, arosed, 5/7. *watered. O.Fr.*

arouser, aroser

artycles, artikillis, 56/16

aryse, rifs, 70/13

as, alfs, 46/6

„ als, 48/8

a slepe, a-sleip, 9/1

assygned, assigned, 92/8

attemperaunce, attemporance, 98/2.

temperance, moderation

attempryd, attemperit, 108/15. *restrained, disciplined*

atteyne, attene, 124/17

auale, avail, 99/14. *come down. O. Fr. avaler. Used transitively and intransitively. The examples on p. 99 illustrate both uses*

aualed, avilet, 99/6. *p.p. brought down. (Misunderstood by Loutfut)*

auaryce, auerice, 100/13

auenturous, aventouris, 4/12

aulter, alter, 71/17. *sb. altar*

„ *aulture*, 67/10

away, away, 103/10

Baillyes, bailjeis, 29/1

baner, banner, 88/12

„ *baner*, 88m.

baptysme, baptising, 71/17

barate, barret, 23/7. *strife. O. Fr. barat*

„ *baretes*, 86/15

barons, baronnys, 8/14

batayll, batell, 16/5

„ *batal*, 117/9

baynes, baynes, 122/10. *baths. Fr. bains*

be, ben, 70/7, *p.p.*

ben, bene, 13/9, *p.p.*

ben, beyn, 46/2, *prs. pl.*

beyng, beyn, 2/4

beest, best, 16/3. *beast*

„ *beistis*, 15/13

beganne, began, 7/1, *pt. sg.*

bygonne, bigone, 36/9, *p.p.*

begonne, bygon, 44/8, *p.p.*

begynnyng, beginnyn, 90/5

behoueth, behuffit, 16/4

„ *behuffis*, 16/10

behoued, behuffit, 5/3

better, bettir, 102/6

beyonde, bezond, 122/1

bitrayed, bitrasit, 51/5

bitwene, betuene, 57/5

blessyd, blissid, 12/10

blessyng, blissing, 13/11

blood, blud, 124/14

bodies, bodeis, 95/12

bodyly, bodely 95/10

book, buke, 7/1

both, bath, 103/2

bought, bocht, 69/8

bounden, bondin, 18/10

„ *bondyn*, 74/10

„ *bone*, 38m.

„ *bund*, 36m.

bounte, bountee, 11/12

brenne, birn, 42/1. *burn*

bretheren, bredir, 96/8

broken, brokin, 7/7

brought, brocht, 9/3

brydel, bridil, 84/13

bryefly, breiflye, 46/11

Brytayne, Bryttan, 121/17

burthen, burdin, 83/4

but, bot, 19/3

by, be, 44/8

by cause, in caufs, 4/1

„ *becaufs*, 6/1

bygonne. See *beganne*.

byheld, bihald, 8/6

bylongeth, belangeth, 79/11

byseche, besich, 11/4

bysecheth, bisechit, 23/13

bywepe, byweip, 40/1. *berail*

Came, come, 6/10, *pt. sg.*

cam, com, 96/8, *pt. pl.*

capytayne, capitany, 123/5

carpenter, carpentar, 22/2

caste, kest, 9/6, *pt. sg.*

cautels *cautels*, 67/7. *stratagem, contrivance. Fr. cautele: Lat. cautela (caveo)*

celestial, celestially, 1/8

certainly, certanly, 53/13

chapytre, cheptour, 2/3

charged, chairgit, 5/5

charyte, cherite, 90/9

„ *charit*, 17/7

chastyte, castite, 98/4

chere, cheire, 8/6

chese, cheifs, 58/4. *inf. choose OE cōsan, with stressing of c. Past tense in Cax. chaas 4/3 O.E. cōas, with stressing of ā*

chirch, kirk, 68/2

chosen, choissin, 12/7

chyualry, cheualry, 1/2. *It is always thus spell in M.S. except at 66/2 cheualtre 76/2 chyualry*
cladde, clad, 113/6, *p.p.*
clere, cleir, 5/7
cloos, clofs, 78/15, *adj. close*
cold, cauld, 62/14
come, cum, 13/8, *imp.*
comen, cummy, 6/12, *p.p.*
comyng, cummy, 70/10, *vb. n.*
commaunded, commandid, 8/12, *pt. sg.*
commandements, commandmentis 18/13
companye, cumpany, 23/14
compare, compair, 113/13
 „ compar, 113/14
comyn, commou, 20/1
conceyued, consauit, 70/4, *p.p.*
conne, cum, 54/3. *to conne doo=to know how to do. O.E. cunnan. See N.E.D. con.*
conscience, consiens, 55/7
conteyneth, conteny, 2/1
contraryete, contrarite, 24/5
corage, curage, 4/1. *Common Romance word from Lat. "cor," meaning "the heart as the seat of feeling, thought, etc.; spirit, mind, disposition, nature." In Caxton it has sometimes this meaning and sometimes the modern significance, courage*
courage, curage, 3/14
couenable, couenable, 15/9. *fitting, proper. Fr. convenable. Usually spell by Loufut as in Caxton*
coueyte, covate, 71/13. *covet*
coueytous, covatoufs, 53/8
couetyses, couatices, 100/4
counceyllour, consalour, 117/2
countenaunce, contenauns, 7/10
countrey, countre, 13/8
 „ cuntreis, 8/11
 „ contre, 33/1
couragious, curaioufs, 15/9
coursour, courser, 84/7
coward, cowart, 55/14
creatoure, creatur, 69/6. *creator.*
crosse, croice, 76/13
crucifyed, crucifix, 70/7

Crystemas, Cristemes, 66/10
crysten, cristin, 54/11
curtoisly, curtasy, 113/5
curtosy, curtasy, 46/8
customme, custum, 10/14
 „ customes, 16/11
Daggar, dagger, 81/6
darest, derrist, 10/7
dayes, dais, 5/13
dayly, daly, 7/8
debonayrte, debonerte, 117/1. *graciousness. O.Fr. debonaireté, deboneretie (13th C)*
 — defens, 37m. *defence*
defouled, defoullit, 56/14, *p.p.*
deffende, defend, 16/6
deffautes, diffultes, 10/10, *sb.*
 „ diffealtis, 48/5
 „ defalt, 50/2
 „ default, 51/8
demaunded, demandit, 9/10, *pt. sg.*
descended, discendit, 8/2, *pt. sg.*
despyse, dispifs, 6/13
despising, dispising, 31/9
despytes, dispites, 24/14
desporte, disport, 20/3
despryse, despifs, 117/4. *to set no value upon O.Fr. despriser*
 „ dispifs, 117/5
destroye, distroy, 25/5
destruction, distructioun, 118/14
 — det, 76m. *debt*
deuoutely, deuotlie, 13/12
deuyne, dyuyn, 90/8. *divine*
dethe, detht, 16/6. *death*
 „ deith, 33/7
 „ ded, 70/10
deye, dee, 91/6. *die*
dyeth, deis, 51/6
diffeateth, deffeateth, 33/16
discouenable, discouenable, 22/6. *improper*
discrecion, discrecioun, 38/1
 „ discrecioun, 111/9
disordeyne, dishordeyn, 37/1. *disorder, degrade. O.Fr. desordener*
disordynate, diordanyt, 10/12
dommages, dommages, 95/10, *hurts, injuries. By-form of O.Fr. damage*

doo; do, 8/8
 dost, dois, 19/7, 2 *prs. sg.*
 dothe, doitht, 10/10, 3 *prs. sg.*
 doth, dois, 50/7
 ,, dotht, 50/9
 ,, doith, 55/6
 doubte, dowl, 109/9, *vb.*
 ,, dout, 23/6
 doubted, douted, 17/6
 ,, douttid, 15/1
 dradde, draad, 125/2
 ,, drunkynnes 97*m.*
 dwellynge, duelling, 4/7
 dyeth, deis, 51/6. See "deye"
 dyfeated, defayted, 33/9
 dyse, dyfs, 122/10. *dice*
 dyseased, disesid, 93/6
 dysplaysyre, displayser, 103/2
 dyuyne, devyn, 1/3

 Ease, eifs, 20/5
 eche, iche, 8/6. *each*
 egalte, egalte, 104/7. *equality*
 ambassatour, enbassatour, 117/11.
 ambassador
 emong, amang, 15/14. *among*
 enclyne, incolyn, 20/14, *inf.*
 enforced, enforsted, 92/2, *p.p.*
 Englund, England, 123/12
 Englysshe, Ynglis, 121/2
 enquiryre, inquer, 60/7. *inquire*
 ,, enquer, 61*m.*
 ensample, example, 103/11
 ,, ensampill, 20/13
 enserche, ense[r]s, MS. enseis, 42/7
 enseygne, enseighue, 11/8 *instruct.*
 O. Fr. enseigner
 enseygneth, ensen3eneth, 114/11
 enseyneth, enseyneth, 114/8
 enseygnement, enseignment, 17/7. *in-*
 struction
 ,, enseng3ement, 78/12
 ,, " " 114/11
 ,, ensengementis, 114/9
 ensiewe, enseiwe, 11/8. *follow*
 ensieweth, ensieith, 27/3
 entatched, entached, 49/1. *stained.*
 O. Fr. entachier
 ,, entacht 63/14
 entende, intend 25/8

entendement, thenetendment, 25/10.
 understanding. Fr. entendement
 entre, enter, 2/12
 ,, entre, 63*m.*
 entryd, enterit, 6/8, *pt. sg.*
 enuye, invy, 71/13
 enuyronneth, enorneth, 80/4
 er, ar, 8/5. *before OE ær*
 ,, or, 65/10
 erles, erllis, 28/3
 erthe, erd, 32/12
 erthely, erdly, 32/15
 ,, arthely, 1/9
 escape, eschaip, 93/7
 esquyer, squyer, 10/1, *et passim*
 establysshed, stablissed, 113/3
 ,, establissed, 44/2
 esseygnal, a signell, 88/1. *banner*
 ,, assignall, 88/9
 enseygnal, ensignall, 88/5
 estraunge, astraunge, 8/14
 euen, evin, 103/13. *evening*
 euensong, evinsang, 103/15
 euyll, euell, 30/2
 ,, euill, 53*m.*
 examynynge, examyn, 47/1
 exercysyng, exersing, 30/9
 — exerfs, 75*m.*
 excercyse, exercisioun 123/13
 exersytees, exerciteis 121/11. *practices*
 eyen, eene, 74/4. *eyes*
 ,, een, 7/9

 Failleth, falleith, 62/1
 faylled, fal3ed, 4/4
 ,, fallid, 82/10
 fayllynge, faillyn, 105/16
 fait, falt, 29/9. *deed*
 falsetees, falseteis, 86/15
 falshed, falssed, 87/2
 ,, falsed, 53*m.*
 faulty, feaulte, 88/5
 — fantis, 63*m.* *faults*
 fayneth, fanyth, 53/13. "fayneth
 hym" = *rejoices O.E. fægenian*
 faynt, fant, 56/14
 fayth, faith, 90/9
 faith, faitht, 91/2
 feyth, feith, 90/13
 ,, feitht, 24/11

feith, fetht, 25/1
 feythe, feicht, 24/14
 febleness, febilnes, 4/10
 feet, feit, 79/4
 felawes, fallowis, 19/7. *fellows*
 „ fellow, 55/7
 ferre, fer, 8/11. *adj. far*
 flaterer, flatterar, 64/14
 flesshe, flesche, 24/12
 foloweth, followis, 27/3
 folowe, fallow, 33/4
 folowyng, folloyng, 70/1
 folyssshly, folichly, 53/9
 fontayne, fontan, 5/7
 for, ffor, 20/3
 — forbedis, 97m. *forbids*
 forces, fors, 12/3
 „ forrour, 3/14
 forseen, forsen, 55/6. *granted*
 fortresses, ffortresfs, 92/7
 forthe, furth, 101/7
 forth, „, 13/13
 foule, foul, 83/2
 founden, fundin, 15/11. *found*
 fourthe, fowrt, fourt, 2/10, 2/11
 fowles, foulis, 73/5
 Frensshe, Franche, 121/2
 fro, fra, 16/6. *from*
 fruytes, frutis, 4/8
 ful, full, 39/12
 furthermore, forthermoir, 14/3
 fyfthe, fift, 2/13, 69/6
 fyght, fecht, 52/1
 fyghte, feicht, 91/7
 „ ficht, 95/15
 fy;ting, fichting, 52/7
 fylthe, filtht, 109/7

 Gaf, gef, 69/11. *gave*
 garnementes, garmontis, 55/13
 „ garnamentis, 55/13
 gaynsay, gansay, 52/2
 ghostly, goostly, 95/10. *spiritual*
 ghost, gast, 69/3
 glorye, gloire, 1/3
 „ gloire, 64/10, 90/6
 glouton, glotoun, 65/4
 gloutonnye, glotony, 97/8
 goo, go, 8/10
 good, gud, 3/9

goten, gottin, 20/14
 gouvernaunce, governans, 39/8
 grasse, grace, 8/5. *grass*
 gretenesse, gretnes, 9/13
 grete, grett, 39/4. *great*
 grettar, grettar, 18/4
 grettest, grettast, 39/1
 grieve, greif, 50/3. *vb.*
 ground, grond, 78/4
 gyue, gif, 12/3. *See "yeue"*
 gyuen, giffen, 11/13
 gyueth, giffith, 98/13
 „ giffis, 103/8
 gyuen, giffis, 103/3. 3 *prs. pl.*

 Habondaunt, abondand, 4/8
 happed, hapnyt, 3/12. *happened*
 „ hapnyd, 5/13
 happen, happin, 112/14. 3 *prs. pl.*
 harnoys, harnes, 54/6, 79m, 63/1
 „ harnois, 54/1
 hauberbe, haubarb, 78/13. *hauberk,*
coat of mail. (Originally a protection
for the neck O.E. heals-beorg) O.E.
form did not survive. O.Fr.
"haubare" introduced in Mid. Eng.
 hauberke, auberk, 78/15
 „ hambarke, 78m.
 haue, haf, 18/1. *inf.*
 haue, haf, 9/1. 1 *prs. sg.*
 hath, has, 9/3, 25/9. 3 *prs. sg.*
 „ haue, 17/9
 haue, haff, 20/5. 3 *pl. pres.*
 „ has, 26/3, 13/9. 3 *pl. pres.*
 hede, heid, 68/4. *heed*
 hede, heid, 86/4. *head*
 „ hed, 85m.
 heer, hair, 7/6. *hair*
 „ heir, 57/11
 here, heir, 3/8. *here*
 heremytage, herymitage, 7/12
 heretofore, here befor, 108/3
 herowdes, heraldis, 75/11. *heralds*
 herte, hart, 29/8. *heart*
 hertes, hartis, 31/4. *harts*
 heuen, hevin, 69/11
 hit, it, 10/4. *et passim. it*
 hold, hald, 6/1
 holdeth, haldis, 25/6
 holden, holdin, 9/13, 22/13. *p.p.*

holdynge, halding, 13/4
 holy, haly, 68/2
 holy ghost Hali Gast, 69/3
 hondes, handis, 82/9
 honourable, honorable, 4/11
 honoured, honored, 4/12
 „ honourit, 15/2
 honoures, honoris, 16/14
 hope, hoip, 55/16
 horsed, horssit, 84/9
 humayne, humane, 24/12, 59/9
 humylte, humylte, 113/11
 hunte, hont, 31/4, 31m.
 hyhe, hyc, 10/4. *high*
 „ hich, 17/4, 22/10
 „ hey, 28/5
 „ hiche, 29/11
 „ heich, 48/1, 75/2
 „ heith, 84/9
 „ he, 99/6
 hyghe, hie, 3/14
 hyther, hidder, 8/10
 Janglours, jangleris, 67/5
 — jestis, 32m. *notable deeds*
O. Fr. geste, geste: Lat. gesta.
 iewel, jowell, 124/9
 iniurye, iniure, 14/10
 inpacyence, inpaciens, 107/13
 intytled, intitilled, 1/1
 iourneyes, journeys, 9/2
 jouste, just, 75/9
 — justing, 31m.
 Kepe, keip, 10/3
 kerue, kerff, 21/14
 knele, kneil, 74/3
 knowe, knaw, 10/9
 „ know, 20/8
 knowest, knowis, 10/5
 knowlege, knowlege, 13/9
 knyght, knyght, 3/12. *et passim*
 kny3t, cf. 44/11
 knyghthode, knyghted, 14/5, 46/4
 „ knyghthed, 14/8
 Laboure, labouris, 25/5, 3 prs. pl.
 labouren, laboren, 41/4, 3 prs. pl.
 — laboraris, 41m. *labourers*
 lacke, lake, 36/3

ladde, laid, 85/6. *led*
 — lafe, 32m. *remainder*
 latchous, latchous, 57/7. *negligent Fr.*
lache
 late, latt, 124/13, *imp.* *let*
 lete, llat, 13/8, *imp.*
 latter, lattir, 122/16
 lawfull, lauchfull, 49/6
 — learis, 65m. *liars*
 lecherye, lechory, 43/6
 — lettis, 63m. 3 prs. pl. *hinder*
 leue, leif, 13/12, *sb.* *leave*
 loke, luk, 78/4, *inf.* *look*
 londe, land, 32/10, *sb.* *land*
 london, Londyn, 121/4
 long, lang, 4/2
 longynge, langynge, 2/17. *belonging*
 loue, lufe, 20/10, *inf.*
 loueth, luffis, 22/4
 loued, luffit, 15/1, *p.p.*
 lowe, law, 78/5
 loyal, loyele, 46/7
 loyaulte, leaute, 55/16
 lyf, lif, 5/12, 125/9, *sb.* *life*
 „ life, 70/11
 lyghtly, lichtly, 7/4
 „ lichtely, 46/6
 lyke wyse, likwifs, 1/10
 lytyl, litill, 64/6, 7/1
 lyue, lif, 4/2, *vb.* *live*
 lyuing, liffig, 20/1, *sb.n.* *sustenance*
 lyued, liffid, 5/6
 Mace, mafs, 79/7
 „ mas, 80/11, 80m.
 maade, maid, 8/13. *made*
 made, maid, 2/11. *made*
 — madenys, 38m.
 manhode, manhed, 122/15
 manyable, mannable, 82/10. *intended*
to be handled. O. Fr. maniable
 many, mony, 6/1
 manyers, maneris, 4/9. *kinds*
 masse, mels, 67/9. *the Mass*
 mayntene, mantein, 24/10
 „ mayntein, 24m.
 „ manteyn, 93/13
 mayntened, manteinyd, 3/15
 „ manteinyt, 11/14
 may, ma, 27/9

mayst, mast, 105/3
maysters, mastris, 23/8. *masters*
maystryes, mastrice, 95/8. *superior skill. O.Fr. maistrise*
maystrye, mastrye, 96/3. *mastery, skill. O.Fr. maistrise. The preceding word came to be regarded as the plural of "Maystrye"*
 „ **maistre**, 101/12
meane whyle, meynquhile, 9/9
meruaylle, mervail, 10/7. *marvel*
merueyelled, meruelid, 8/1
mescreaunts, mescreants, 25/2
 „ **myscreaunes**, 25/4
mescreaunce, myscreance, 25/14. *wickedness*
mespryson, myspryson, 17/2. *error, wickedness. Ang. Fr. mesprison*
messenger, messenger, 117/11
mesure, mesour, 56/16. *moderation*
moeue, mufe, 84/1, *vb. move*
moeued, muftit, 6/3, *pt. sg.*
meued, meuyt, 7/4, *pt. sg.*
moost, mast, 39/2
moste, maist, 16/5
more, mare, 31/2
 „ **moire**, 17/10
 „ **maire**, 18/10
 — **moster**, 36*m.* *master?*
mount, mont, 71/7
mouth, mothe, 55/8
murderer, murtherar, 71/11
moyen, moyen, 2/1. *of middle rank. O.Fr. moyen*
must, moste, 16/9
 „ **most**, 18/8
myddel, mydill, 56/16
myddle, myddis, 108/8
myzt, mycht, 4/2
myghtest, mychest, 58/4
mynuyshe, menuyfs, 58/6. *diminish*
myserycorde, mercycord, 40/5. *name of a dagger*
myschaunt, myschans, 40/10. *wicked*
myspryseth, myschprisit, 27/6. *contemns. O.Fr. mespriser*
 — **mysteris**, 38*m.* 3 *prs. pl. needs. Connected with O.Fr. "mestier," occupation, necessity*

Nature, natour, 17/10
 „ **natur**, 17/14
naturel, natural, 33/1
 „ **naturall**, 125/1
 — **natif**, 32*m.* *native*
nede, neid, 93/13
nedeful, nedfull, 22/13
next, nixt, 47/5
neyghbour, nycthpur, 71/13
no, na, 4/4
noble, nobil, 8/12
noblesse, nobleness, 47/11
 „ **nobles**, 12/13, 17/3
 „ **nobilnes**, 3/14
 „ **noblenes**, 19/3
none, nan, 32/2
not, nocht, 105/16
nought, nocht, 45/2
nourysshed, norised, 57/2
Obeysaunt, obeisand, 13/10. *obedient*
 „ **obeysand**, 77/15
oblige, oblich, 67/12
obteyned, opethyt, 96/13, *pt. sg.*
of, off, 13/12
 „ **offisaris**, 76*m.* *officers*
old, ald, 13/1
ones, onys, 124/5. *once*
openly, oppinly, 35/12
 „ **opynly**, 111/10
ordenaunce, ordinans, 10/4
ordeyned, ordanit, 23/10
ordeynyng, ordanyng, 1/9, *vb. n.*
ordre, ordour, 1/2
ordynatly, ordinaly, 14/2. *in a proper manner. Lat. "ordinare" = ordain.*
oroyson, orisoun, 6/15, *prayer. O.Fr. orison (12th C), oreisun*
orphelyns, orphanys, 39/8
othe, aith, 43/2. *oath*
 „ **oith**, 83/1
other, othir, 8/5, 57/12, 76/1, *etc.*
ouercome, ourcum, 52/7, *inf.*
ouercomen, ourcummyyn, 56/12 *p.p.*
oultrageous, outtragioufs, 97/12
owe, aw, 29*m.* 24/8, 3 *prs. pl.* *ought*
oughten, outhene, 1/12, 3 *prs. pl.*
 „ **ouchten**, 45/1
ought, ocht, 10/3, 3 *prs. sg.*
ought, aucht, 2/11

ouȝt, oucht, 30/4
 oughtest, ouchtest, 50/6
 „ auchest, 19/9
 owne, awyn, 27/2

Pacyence, paciens, 107/10
 pacyfyed, pacifeid, 45/13
 — pair, 32m. *appears?*
 palfroy, palfray, 6/5
 „ palfra, 13/13
 — parage, 58m. *noble birth*
 partyes, partis, 5/4. *parts*
 paynes, panys, 69/8
 pees, peice, 45/13. *peace*
 peisant, pesant, 93/14, *weighty. Fr.*
pesant
 penaunce, pennans, 6/12
 peple, pepil, 15/5
 „ pepill, 17/6
 „ peple, 20/14
 people, puple, 62/12
 „ pepile, 96/3
 perauenture, perauentour, 63/6, 104/13
 peryll, perell, 36/6
 planettes, planetis, 1/7
 playsyre, plesour, 11/4
 please, pleifs, 11/8
 „ pleifs, 20/4
 poure, pure, 40/13. *poor*
 praye, pray, 6/12
 preye, pray, 5/9
 prayers, praeris, 67/3
 preesthode, presthed, 76/6
 preyseth, prisitht, 27/5. *esteems, values.*
Fr. priser
 preysed, prayced, 41/11. *praised*
 „ prased, 89/5
 praysyng, prasing, 50/12
 procure, procour, 79/14
 propre, propir, 113/4. *individual*
 proud, prowd, 104/4
 proue, prwe, 91/5. *prove*
 prouostes, preuestis, 29/1
 prudence, prudens, 90/10
 prycketh, prikketh, 79/12
 punyyshe, punyfs, 42/11
 punysshed, punyssed, 51/9
 „ ponyst, 42/8
 punyschyng, ponysing, 50/4
 puyssaunt, puyssaund, 38/15

puyssaunt, puyssaunyt, 17/12
 puyssaunce, puyssans, 1/11
 pyte, pete, 40/5. *pity*

Rather, raither, 87/12
 raynes, renȝeis, 84/13. *reins. O.Fr.*
rene, regne
 reason, resoun, 25/11
 receyue, resaiff, 66/8
 „ resaiif, 2/15
 receyuyng, resaving, 48/7
 receyueth resavit, 75/15
 „ resaiiffs, 75m. 20/7
 recounted, recountyt, 67/15
 recoure, recover, 17/7
 recreaunt, recreand, 88/5
 rede, reid, 7/1 *inf. read*
 redde, red, 12/5 *p.p.*
 redemer, redemar, 69/7
 redoubtable, redoutable, 5/2
 redoubteth, redoutis, 36/5
 redoubted, redoutit, 125/1
 refreyned, refrenyt, 83/11
 refrayne, refrene, 84/16
 remayneth, remanynt, 97/5
 renne, ryn, 79/13
 renommed, renounyt, 121/14
 renomme, renoun, 6/2. *renown*
 renyeth renyeth, 95/3. *denies, O.F.*
renier, rencier
 repayred, reparid, 61/4
 repreued, repruffit, 47/15, *p.p. reproved*
 „ repruf, 73m. *reproof*
 retchyng, retching, 106/13, *vb. n.*
recking, caring. O.E. reccan. M.E.
reche, recke, etc.
 reteyne, retene, 53/3
 retorne, return, 13/7
 reuerence, reuerens, 8/8
 reysed, rassit, 70/10
 robbe, rub, 52/11
 — rubbaris, 42m.
 rode, raid, 6/7
 rote, rute, 90/5. *root*
 royaume, realm, 89/2, 122/1
 rule, rewle, 3/10
 „ reull, 2/5, 12/8
 „ rewl, 10/6
 rybauldes, rebaldis, 67/5
 Rychard, Richart, 125/2

rychesses, riches, 4/6
ryght, ryght, 5/2

Sadel, sadill, 84/2

salewed, salust, 70/5, *pt. sg. saluted.*
Fr. saluer

sallary, sallery, 103/14

same, sammyn, 5/4 *et passim*
,, sam, 67m.

sauē, saif, 70/7, *inf.*

saueth, saiffis, 82/5

saued, saiffid, 25/8, *p. p.*

,, savyt, 25/13, *p. p.*

scoles, sculis, 20/12

seyence, sciens, 20/7

secondly, secoundlie, 51/3

seiourne, soiorne, 20/2

self, selff, 117/10

seke, sech, 55/11, *imp.*

seche, sech, 55/7, *imp.*

semblaunces, semblances, 83/10

seme, seym, 27/8

,, seme, 83/10

sentence, sentens, 5/2

serched, cerced, 15/8

sermon, sermond, 67/14

seruaunt, servand, 19/15

serue, serf, 15/12

sewe, schaw, 22/1

,, schew, 22/3

seygnorye, senzeory, 1/11. *dominion*

,, senghzeory, 116/8

,, sengzeoury, 116/6

seynt, saint, 70/3

shadow, schadow, 7/1

shalle, sal, 11/7

,, sall, 70/13

,, schal, 13/5

shalt, sal, 18/6

,, salt, 71/8

shold, suld, 16/4

sholdest, suldest, 58/5

,, scholdest, 58/2

shelde, scheild, 82/1, 88m.

,, scheld, 82m.

sheep, scheip, 53/6

shewe, schaw, 1/6, 74m.

,, schew, 10/13

shewed, schawed, 22/15, *p. p.*

short, schort, 125/11

shortly, schortly, 120/10

slee, sla, 42/2. *slay*

slepe, sleip, 123/9

smal, small, 21/3

socoure, succour, 39/4

sodenly, sudanly, 79/16

solempne, solemp, 66/11, 66m.

somme, sum, 27/7

somtyme, sumtym, 11/11

sones, sonnys, 22/16

songen, songyn, 67/9. *sung*

soo, so, 4/5

sorrowful, sorofull, 102/15

souerayne, soueran, 1/4, 80/7

,, souerane, 125/2

spere, speir, 77/7

,, aper, 77/5, 77m.

spores, spurris, 79/9

sprad, spred, 8/11

spyrte, sprete, 107/3

spyrytuely, spiritually, 90/12

stele, steill, 50/10

stolen, stollen, 52/15

stratched, straucht, 101/7

strength, strenth, 80/11, 104/10

,, strent, 41m. = *stronghold*

,, strentht, 104/13

stroke, strak, 82/5, *sb.*

strongly, stronglie, 8/1

styed, stiyt, 70/11. *ascended. O.E.*

stigan

subgettis, subiectis, 19/7. *Lat. subiectus*

,, subditis, 34/15. *Lat. subditus*

suche, siche, 16/5

suffre, ssuffir, 87/4

suffreth, sufferis, 49/9

suffyse, suffice, 19/13

suffyseth, sufficiet, 22/11

suffysaunt, sufficient, 30/12

,, suffisand, 115/11

surete, suret, 83/6

surmounted, sourmonted, 35/14

surprysed, supprised, 79/16

surquedrye, surquedry, 50/22.

arrogance. O.Fr. sourceuiderie

susteyne, sustene, 44/9

susteyneth, sustenys, 49/9

susteyned, sustenyd, 6/6

susteynyng, sustenyng, 77/10

sword, suerd, 74/6

swerynge, suering, 43/2
 syghe, sych, 9/7
 sygnefied, signified, 38/4
 „ signifið, 28/12
 sygnefyaunce, signifiants, 2/17
 „ suffisans, 1/6. (*scribal error*)
 syxe, sax, 96/6
 syxthe, saxe, 69/6

 Taillour, tailour, 22/1. *tailor*
 taught, taucht, 65/2
 telle, tel, 11/5
 terryen, tirane, 29/11. *earthly*
 testiere, testier, 85/14. “*tester*,”
armour to defend the head
 that, at, 25/9. *rel. pron.*
 „ at, 24/8. *conj.*
 the, þai, 42/2. *def. art.* “*in þai hie wais.*” *The pl. inflexion of the def. art. occurs only here*
 theef, theif, 49/7
 „ thevis, 42m.
 thefte, thift, 71/11
 their, ther, 89/3
 „ there, 40/7
 them, þaim, 8/5
 „ þam, 26/4
 thenne, þan, 4/6
 „ þen, 14/10
 there, thair, 54/11
 „ þair, 16/4
 ther, þer, 19/1
 therfor, þairfor, 115/7
 these, theise, 16/6
 „ þis, 20/13, 11/1, 72/6
 „ thes, 39/12
 they, þai, 23/6 *et passim*
 thoughtes, thoughtis, 105/3
 thouȝt, thoct, 4/1
 thousand, thousand, 15/14
 thryes, thrifs, 124/4
 thurste, thruste, 62/14
 thyder, thidder, 6/3
 to, til, 8/8
 toke, (*took* 13/12), tuk, 53/2
 togyder, to-gidder, 30/10
 token, tokin, 88/1
 „ takin, 88m.
 told, talð, 62/15

tongue, tounge, 84/16
 torneth, turnys, 106/11
 tornoyes, tournays, 4/1
 „ tourneys, 22/12
 „ tournais, 31/4
 touching, tuiching, 31/10. *See Introd.*
p. lxi.
 „ twiching, 32/2
 „ tuching, 59/6
 tourned, turnyd, 101/10
 toward, towart, 78/4
 traitour, (*traytre* 51/8), tratour, 48/13.
traitor
 traitre, traite, 52/1, 52/5, 53/7.
 „ tratre, 51/13
 „ traithar, 63/7
 transytory, transistory, 71/3
 „ transitorye, 125/11
 trauaille, traueill, 9/1, *sb.* *toil*
 „ travail, 6/6
 trauailles, trauellis, 24/14
 „ traualis, 87/15
 trayson, tresoun, 23/6, 51/10
 treason, treasoun, 79/2
 tree, tre, 5/5
 trespassers, trespascers, 42/11
 trouble, truble, 14/11
 trouthe, trewth, 77/5
 „ trouth, 77/7
 „ troutht, 77/8
 — trew, 51m. *true*
 trust, traist, 81/11
 twyes, twifs, 124/4

Vnder, wndyr, 89/13
 vnderstode, wnderstud, 12/5
 vnderstanden, wnderstandyn, 12/8.
p.p.
 vnneth, wneth, 23/4. *scarcely O.E.*
unēape
 vnto, on-to, 6/12
 „ wnto, 76/12
 vpon, apon, 20/3 *et passim*
 vpward, wpwart, 78/3
 vseth, wsit, 25/9

Valoyre, (*valeur* 61/2), valeur, 61/6
 vanytees, vaniteis, 6/13
 vauntours, vantouris, 83/9. *boasters*
 wayne glory, vane gloire, 64/9

vayne glory, vangloir, 64/11
 „ „ vangloire, 64*m.*
vaynquysshe, vencust, 99/9. *inf.*
vaynquysssheth, vaynquyssseth, 35/2
 „ vencust, 99/4
vaynquyssshed, vencust, 35/13. *p.p.*
 „ vecussid, 93/7
vengeaunce, vengeans, 35/6
vertuous, vertuys, 57/3
 „ vertuis, 41/2
veryte, werite, 17/8. *truth*
very, verre, 49/13
 „ verray, 24/6
vyce, wice, 57/1
vyctory, victoury, 91/13, 125/10
vylaynous, velanous, 29/9
 „ velaynis, 65/2
 „ vilanous, 101/14
vylayne, vileyne, 58/7. *wicked*
 „ vilayn 118/11. *low-born*
vyle, wile, 19/6
 „ wil, 56/12
 „ will, 57/14
vylete, wilete, 19/8
vylony, velany, 56/12
vyneyerd, wyn3erd, 103/12

Wake, walk, 67/3
was, wes, 3/12
were, wor, 7/9
 „ war 41*m.*
warre, were, 99/8, *vb.*
warres, weris, 3/15, *sb.*
 „ werres, 45/6
watres, watteris, 4/8
wel, weil, 5/5
 „ will, 114/8
wele, well, 35/7. *prosperity*
 „ wille, 106/3
welfare, weillfair, 125/9
werynge, werin, 7/7, *vb. n.*
wete, weit, 40/5. "That is to rete" =
 that is to say. *O.E. witan = to know*
whanne, quhen, 9/1. *know*
what, quhot, 123/9
 „ quhat, 10/6
where, quhar, 6/9
wherfor, quharfore, 8/10
which, quhich, 3/12
 „ quhilk, 4/10

whitsontyd, Witsonted, 66/10
who, quho, 16/8
 „ quhow, 13/9
whome, quham, 25/11
 „ quhom, 34/8
whos, quhois, 122/1
 „ quhas, 122/5
whyle, quhile, 102/13
whyther, quheþer, 8/10
 „ quhy, 88*m.*
wil, vile, 61/10, *sb.*
 — wifs, 31*m.* *direct. O.E. wissian,*
wissian
wol, wil, 18/5, 3 *prs. sg.*
wylle be, wilbe, 8/13. (*cf. salbe =*
shall be)
wold, wald, 6/1
woned, wont, 4/5
world, warld, 4/9
worldly, warldle, 1/5
worshippe, werschip, 10/4, *sb.*
worthy, wordy, 40/10
 „ worthi, 18/5
wreton, writtin, 11/10
wronge, wrang, 21/4
wyked, wikit, 18/12
 „ wiked, 19/6
 „ wekit, 19/9
wyckednesse, wiketnes, 34/14
wydowes, wedois, 41/1
wymmen, wymen, 41/1
wyse, wifs, 3/12, *adj.*
wysely, wesely, 8/4

Ye, 3he, 8/10, 122/15
 „ yhe, 122/8
 „ 3e, 12/10
yere, 3er, 124/5
yeue, yeue, 75/13, *inf. give. See*
"gyue"
yi, gif, 104/13
 „ gif, 11/4
ynough, ynouch, 120/10
yonge, 3oung, 53/7
yongthe, 3owcht, 21/6
 „ youtht, 98/6
youre, 3our, 11/4
yow, 3ow, 11/8
yron, yrn, 77/6
yssued, ischit, 6/8, *pt. sg.*

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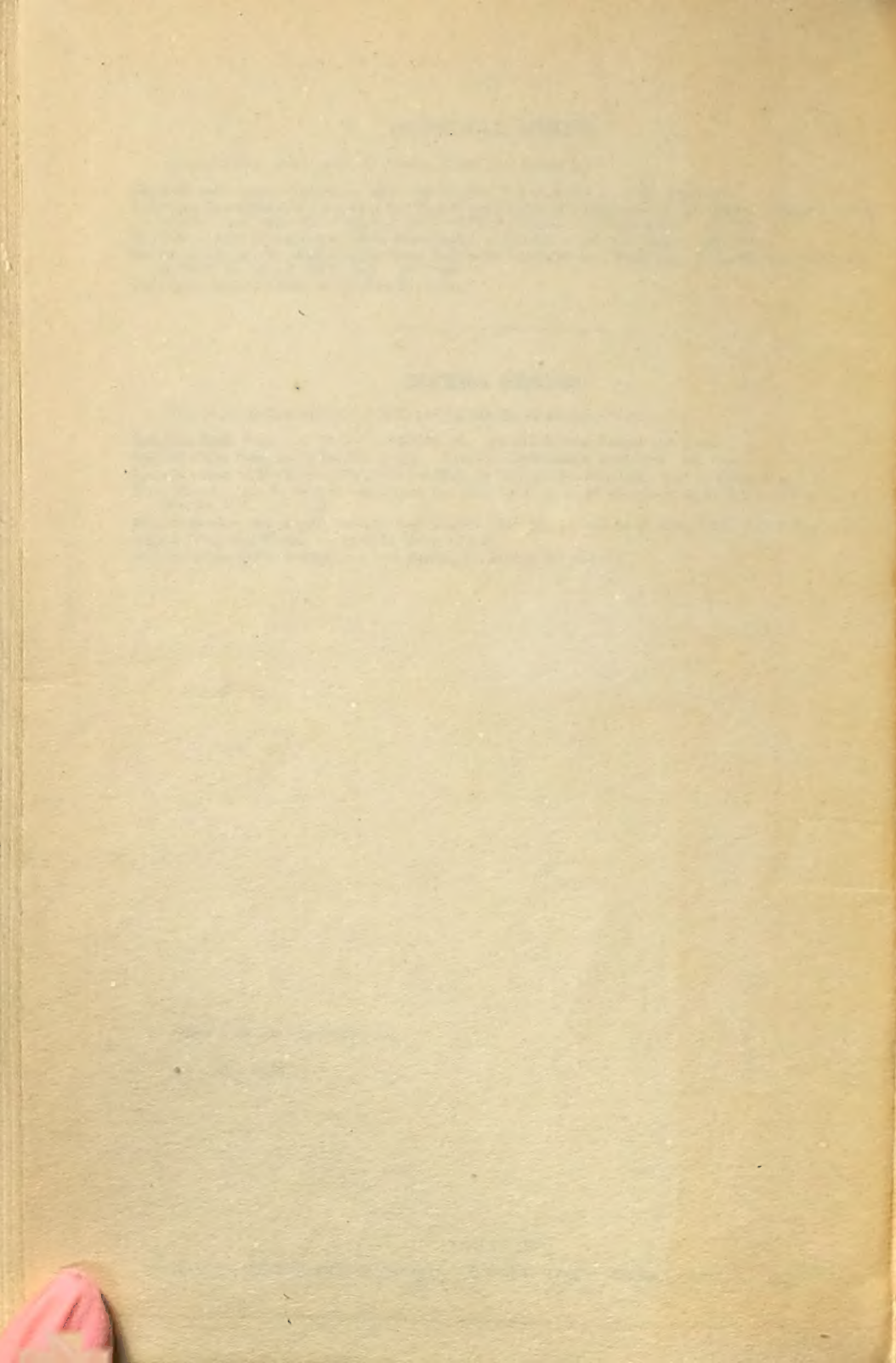
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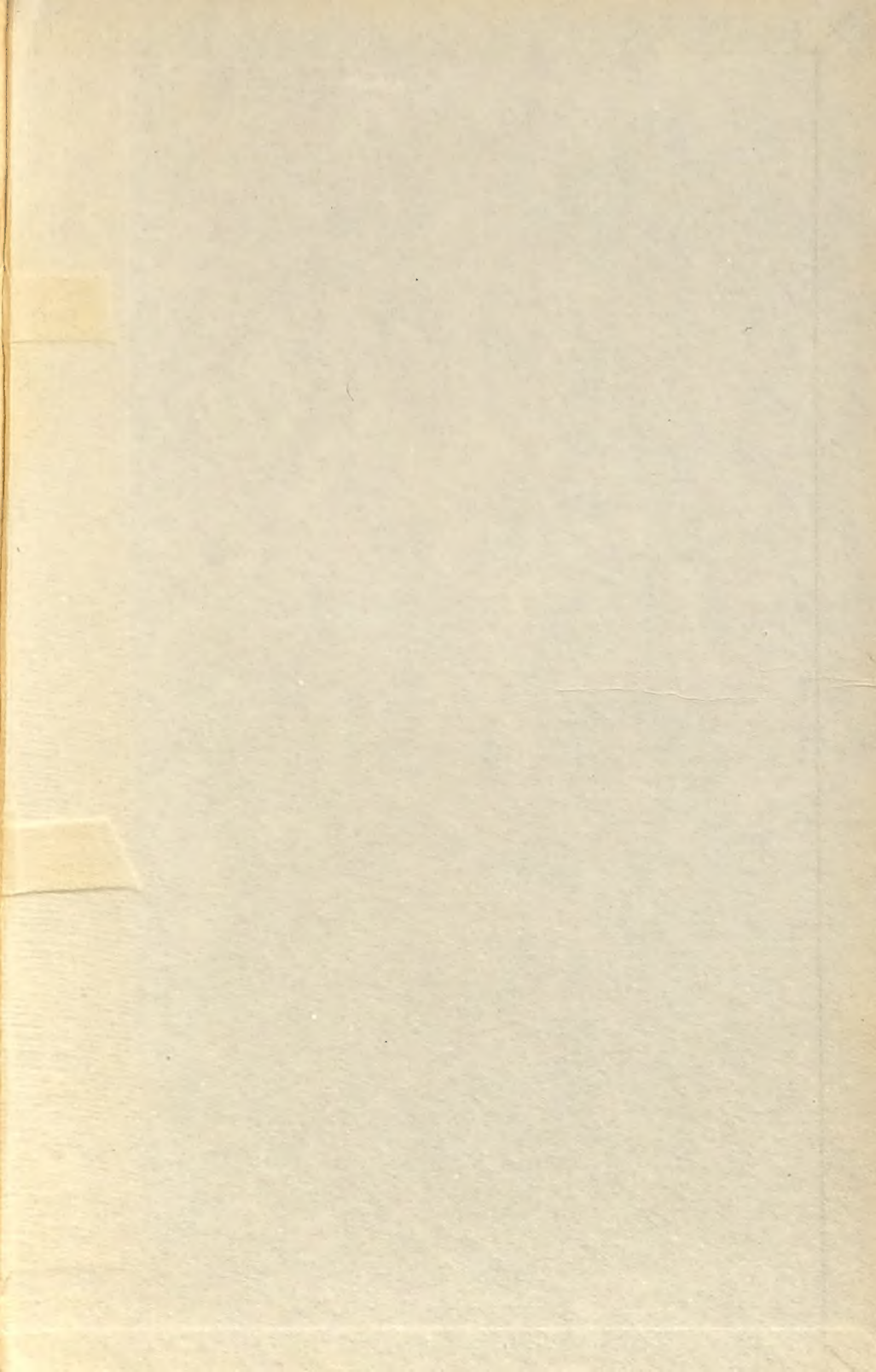
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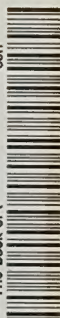




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